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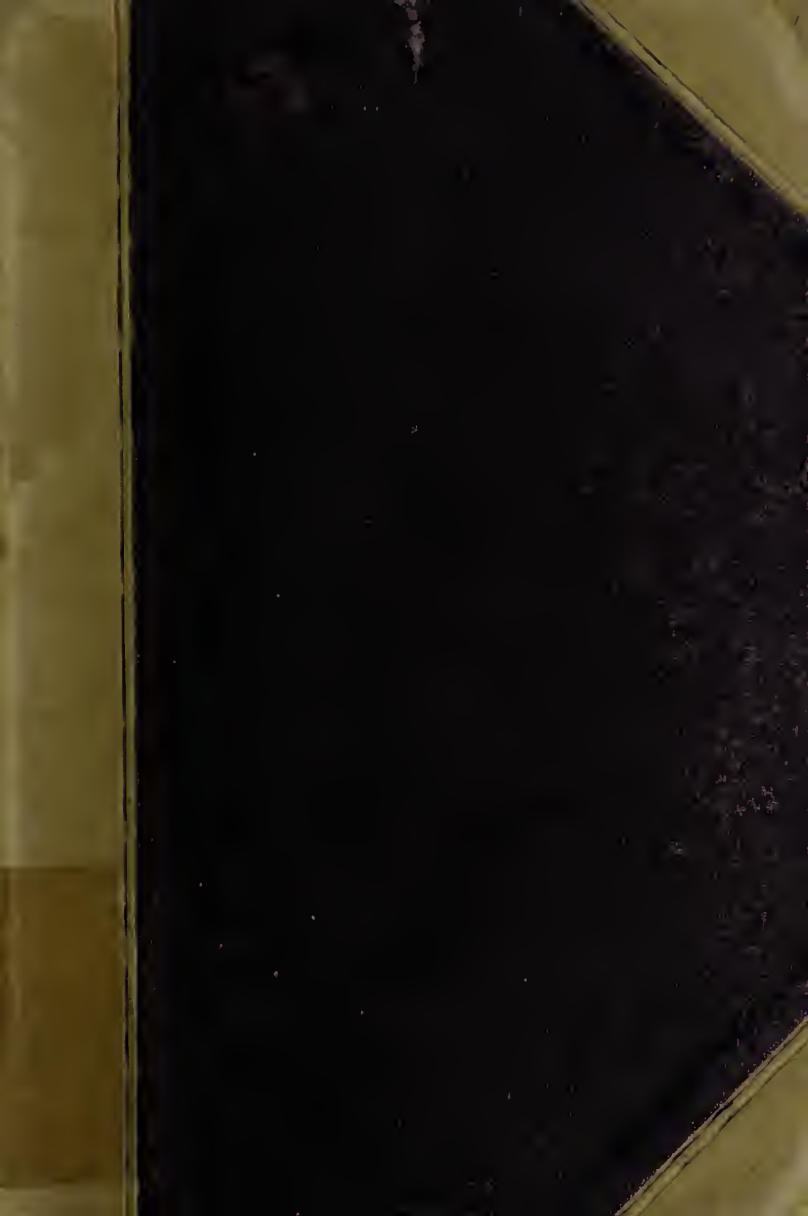
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THE BRITISH TROOPS CROSSING THE TUGELA.

BRITISH RULE
IN
SOUTH AFRICA.

ILLUSTRATED IN THE STORY OF
KAMA AND HIS TRIBE,
AND OF
THE WAR IN ZULULAND.

BY
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PAST AND FUTURE OF THE KAFFIR RACES,' AND 'BRIEF HISTORY OF
METHODISM AND METHODIST MISSIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.'

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PREFACE.



KAMA AND HIS TRIBE.

THE first part of this work contains the life of the Christian Kaffir chief Kama. This will be found to be what was published in my last work, *Brief History of Methodism and Wesleyan Missions in South Africa*, but considerably enlarged, much additional important matter having been introduced into it. In the critique upon this subject in the *London Quarterly*, the writer says: 'Kama's story, even as told here in brief, is one to thrill with joy and hope. No further answer need be given to those who deride the Christianity of the Kaffir. If Mr. Holden has enough on the subject "to fill a small volume," and withholds it, we shall not forgive him.' I have now saved myself from the unpardonable sin of not giving a fuller account of the worthy chief. Added to this, are extensive historical notes upon his son and successor, William Shaw Kama, which are of deep interest and grave importance, especially in connection with the sore trials through which he had to pass in the late rebellion; and the honourable manner in which he passed through and came out of those trials.

THE WAR IN ZULULAND.

THIS history must be regarded as one of popular interest, not as a full scientific military history, to which it makes no pretensions. But it does profess to give a sufficiently large amount of accurate information upon the Zulu campaign as to enable an ordinary reader to become well informed upon most of the great facts which have occurred in the course of the war. This war in every aspect is one of great importance in its present bearings and future results : important as it relates to the nation and despot who have had to be subdued ; important as to the large number of human beings sacrificed therein ; important in the large demand which will be made upon the imperial and colonial treasury to defray the expenses incurred ; and most important in its bearings upon the future interests of South Africa. In addition to some illustrations, there are two maps, which will enable the patient reader to trace the local position and relative distance of each place. These must be of great value when the fact is kept in mind that there is probably not less than three hundred miles of frontier, including the whole north-east border of Natal, and a large portion of the north-west of the Transvaal. I have been greatly indebted to the local newspapers for information, some of which are conducted with considerable ability, and have had correspondents on whom full reliance could be placed. The *Times* and *Mercury* of Natal and the *Journal of Graham's Town* have aided me considerably.

Exception may possibly be taken to the extended use which has been made of letters and documentary evidence ; but this has been done designedly. The

object in view has not been to parade my own opinions, sentiments, and speculations, so much as to furnish materials and facts by which the careful reader may form his own opinions, and arrive at fair and honest conclusions. Hence I have preferred introducing and using the materials supplied by those actually in the field and on the spot to anything merely sentimental or probable.

1. The correspondents of both the English and colonial papers have been men of fair, if not superior, literary merit, who were fully competent to fulfil their task with credit to themselves and advantage to the public.

2. Being in the country, and having access to most sources of reliable information, I have had the opportunity of selecting from large supplies that which appeared the wisest and the best.

3. My own personal knowledge of the nation and the people has, not only enabled me to select that which was fitting and best, but to fill in or pare down those parts which were lacking or were redundant.

When I say that I have performed my work under difficulties, I only utter a truism. I have had to prepare and send the different parts in a fragmentary manner, which will explain to some extent what will appear to be a want of smoothness, and in some instances may be the absence of connectedness. It is only fair to myself to state those facts, which, with others which might be named, will bespeak the leniency of criticism.

W. CLIFFORD HOLDEN.

SOUTH AFRICA, *July*, 1879.

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K A M A :
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AND
WILLIAM SHAW KAMA.



KAMA : THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CHIEF.

CHAPTER I.

LIFE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHIEF KAMA: HIS MISSION AND HIS TRIBE.

MY purpose in this chapter is to give a short life of the Christian chief Kama, his mission, and his tribe. In doing this, I have, not only the information derived from all other available sources, but also my own observation and experience. During my *forty years'* labour as a Christian Missionary in South Africa, six of the number have been spent upon mission stations. Two of these were with Pato's tribe at the Beka, near Fort Peddie, more than a quarter of a century ago. This was before the war of 1846. Pato was then a rich and powerful chief, occupying the country mostly between the Fish and Buffalo rivers, the Keiskama River running through the middle of it; it was bounded on the north-west by the Kei road, and on the south-east by the sea. The other four years were with Kama and his people at Annshaw, from whence I removed in 1875 to Fort Beaufort, being about twenty-five miles distant. So that I possessed every possible opportunity of obtaining full and accurate knowledge of Kama, his mission, and his people. This information, with all that I could obtain from other sources, I now briefly chronicle in this chapter, seeking on the one part not to withhold anything of permanent value, and on the other part not

to enter into every detail, so as unnecessarily to extend the limits of the book. This record is the more needful, inasmuch as Kama is, not only the first, but the only Kaffir chief who has embraced Christianity and continued in a consistent Christian course during the whole of life. His son, William Shaw, is now chief as his successor, of whom we shall speak in the next chapter.

For the purpose of further assisting the reader, I supply two maps: one embracing the country occupied by the Kaffirs, extending from Algoa Bay in the Cape Colony to Delagoa Bay, showing the part in which *Kama's country* is situated, as also where the *Gcelaka* and *Ghika* war was carried on. The other is a map of *Zululand* to the north-east of *Natal*, the scene of the present bitter war, where so many of our brave men have fallen, and where proof has been given that the Amazulu were no mean foes to encounter.

The introduction of the Gospel among the Amagqunukwebi tribe was an epoch in the history of the Kaffir races. How many ages the Kaffirs had occupied Kaffirland we cannot tell; the tables in my former work on the history of the Kaffir races give the nearest approximation that has been obtained. As to their dense spiritual darkness, their enslaving superstitions, their revolting vices, and their horrid cruelties, the same book gives what has been regarded as almost too full an account. But however this may be, more than half has not been told; some things being omitted altogether, and others so far modified as to enable the ordinary reader to peruse the whole with interest, and without the extreme disgust which a full delineation would have produced.

When William Shaw and his fellow missionary workers entered Kaffirland, they found Pato, Kobi, and Kama, with their people, occupying the coast line of the hills and valleys reaching along the country between the Fish and the Buffalo rivers; the people never before having been brought into contact with religious teaching or under civilising influences. But now a change has commenced; the black man and the white have to look each other in the face; a pure Christianity has to confront impure orgies; barbarism has to be brought into contact with civilisation, and the trial betwixt directly opposing moral and spiritual influences and practices has to be made. The power of the Gospel has to be put upon its trial against the most inveterate heathenism; and the result is to determine whether sin or holiness, Satan or God, is to achieve the victory. The following record professes to give an account of the processes carried on, with their results; and the impartial reader must say whether the experiment has been a successful one or not.

It must be noted that this was the first mission which the late William Shaw, with his honoured co-adjutors, commenced. *Wesleyville* was the first spot on which they 'sat down.' Here the standard of the Cross was first raised; here the first Gospel lessons were imparted, the first Gospel invitations given; here the first souls were drawn to Christ, and the first triumphs of the Cross achieved; here the first Kaffir converts were received into the holy catholic Church, by baptism in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. It was here that the first house of worship was erected as a witness to the God of heaven, and praise and a pure offering.

ascended before His throne. For many ages the rippling river, the green foliage on the ascending slopes, and the towering forest trees in the adjacent kloofs had trembled and quivered amid the warriors' loud song and the dying wail of the victims of a cruel superstition. But now the scene is changed; the high praises of God are sung, and the ambassadors of a true Gospel are heard calling upon heathen men to fall at the feet of the 'Prince of peace,' and join with others in crowning Him 'Lord of all.'

Concerning the origin of the people of whom I now write, I will quote the words of the Rev. H. H. Dugmore.

'There is yet one tribe, the origin of which remains to be noticed, and that is the Amagqunukwebi, the tribe of Pato [Kobi and Kama]. In point of numbers, this tribe is superior to several of those already spoken of. Its chiefs are, however, deemed inferior to the rest, as not belonging to the same family,—as being, indeed, the descendants of a man who was raised from amongst the common people, and invested with the rank and authority of a chief by Tshiwo.

'There is something of romance in the history of this man, as it has been preserved in the traditions of the tribe which he founded. It is probable that the facts of the case have been somewhat *adorned* in the course of transmission: the following, however, is the result of a comparison of accounts.

'Kwane was a councillor of Tshiwo, and a man very popular with the tribe at large. He was also a great favourite with his chief, and was employed by him on most matters of importance. There was

another councillor, of great influence with the chief, but a man of a very different character. Amongst the "matters of state" of which these two *ministers* had the direction was the execution of frequent sentences against the victims of accusations of witchcraft. These sentences, involving not merely the confiscation of the cattle, but also the massacre of the parties involved, were carried relentlessly into effect, whenever the second of the councillors above mentioned had the management of the proceedings. Kwane, on the contrary, systematically spared life; and, leaving them a few head of cattle to subsist upon, connived at the escape of the accused and their families to the mountain region towards the Orange River. His own great influence, and the popular character of the proceeding, enabled him to continue it for several years. At length a quarrel with the other councillor threatened him with the consequences of exposure, on which he adopted the bold resolution of assembling his mountaineers (now an imposing looking band), appearing at their head, avowing what he had done, and putting it to the old chief whether he had not better served his interests by preserving the men alive than he would have done by putting them to death. The measure was perfectly successful. Tshiwo, instead of punishing Kwane, constituted the people he had saved a distinct tribe, and invested him with the chieftainship of it. His insignia of rank consisted of a milksack, a selection from the chief's milking cows to replenish it with, and an allotment of blue crane's wings for war plumes for his bravest warriors. These, bestowed by the hand of Tshiwo, served instead of the ribbons, stars,

and garters, as eagerly sought for, though perhaps not more highly prized, in a higher state of society.

‘The tribe of Kwane is the present tribe of Pato. Its fortunes have been various ; but at the commencement of the present war it far exceeded in numbers several of the other tribes, whose chiefs had long looked down upon it with the contempt which the imaginary superiority of blood inspires.’ (HOLDEN’S *Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*, pp. 156, 157.)

This is the most authentic account of the origin of the tribe we possess. As will be seen in the course of the narrative, that which constituted the tribe of Pato when Mr. Dugmore wrote has passed away ; the tribe of Kama,* the one of which these notices treat, has been gathered out of the fragments, and has taken its permanent form.

Before Mr. Shaw opened his memorable mission, he first wisely made a tour of inspection. In the latter end of July, 1823, accompanied by Mr. Shepstone and Tsatzoe, he arrived at the residence of the chief Pato.

‘On our arrival we were told to unsaddle our horses, and then the spokesman for the occasion asked us the invariable questions put by Kaffirs to strangers on their arrival at a Kaffir kraal : “Who are you ? Where do you come from ? Where are you going ? What do you seek or want ? What is the news ?” These questions are generally asked, even when the querists already possess all the information you are prepared to give on these several points. After this “preliminary examination” had been conducted with that peculiarly stiff manner and assumed air of dignity, which, as we often afterwards

* The name of the tribe now changed.

experienced, is so characteristic of the native chiefs on such occasions, all formality was abandoned, and we were received by the chief and his brothers, Kobi (Congo) and Kama, with evident pleasure and goodwill.' (*Story of my Mission*, pp. 341, 342.)

This was the first interview of Mr. Shaw and his friends with these chiefs, and the first instance in which the name of Kama is brought out in connection with the opening mission. The application of the Missionaries to commence the mission was successful, being given with all the ceremony of Kaffir custom. As the record of Mr. Shaw's preparations to enter Kaffirland personally, with his fellow labourers and their wives and families, is given in the story of his mission, it is not needful to detain the reader with it in this place; but we will take up the thread of the narrative from the arrival of the party at the mission station of the Rev. Messrs. Brownlee and Thomson at the Chumie. The party consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Shaw, Mr. and Mrs. Shepstone, and their families, together with a number of natives. They arrived at the Chumie station on the 20th of November, 1823; and on December 1st they proceeded on their journey, arriving at their destined place on the 5th.

The *Story* records: 'We had to make a road for the waggons from Chumie to this place, in doing which many a tree fell before the hatchets of the Kaffirs who accompanied us, and who, including several that had followed us from Chumie, amounted to between twenty and thirty in number. The road was intersected by a great number of streams that run from the mountains in the north into the Keis-

kama; fords over these had to be discovered and rendered passable, &c., in all which we found the Kaffirs very useful: the only remuneration they expected or received was presents of beads.

‘We were received on our arrival here by Pato and his brothers, Kobi (Congo) and Kama, with a great number of their people, as though we had been making a triumphal entry: all was bustle; and, as is usual when many wild, untutored people are assembled together, all was noise and clamour; everything around us was wonderful, and excited the greatest astonishment; our waggons, our wives, our children, all were examined with attention, and appeared to make the spectators wonderfully loquacious. Our waggons were drawn up under the shade of one of the beautiful yellow-wood trees that grow along the side of the river: here we outspanned (unyoked) the oxen, pitched our tent, and praised God for having brought us in safety to the place where we would be.’

The first introduction of Kama to the civilised Christian subjects of Great Britain in the colony is thus recorded by Mr. Shaw (pp. 384—5): ‘On my first visit to the colony’ (in February, 1824), ‘I took with me the young Kaffir chief Kama and two or three of his attendants. It was a great proof of his confidence, that he was willing to go with me, and his people consented with reluctance; but they were ashamed to express their apprehensions, since I was leaving my wife and children among them. No Kaffir chief had, however, visited the colony for many years; and in no instance had a chief visited it since the arrival of the British settlers. Hence the event created considerable interest on both sides of the

frontier. Kama was received by the British in Graham's Town, both civil and military, with great kindness. Many presents of clothing and other articles were given to the chief by various friends; and, besides some clothes, the commandant sent to Kobi (Congo), by Kama, a present of a horse. The young chief attended divine worship in the English chapels at Graham's Town and Salem; and he witnessed, on these occasions, the administration of the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper. At one of these services, although not understanding our language, he had been seized with an apparently irresistible emotion, and shed "floods of tears." After our return to Wesleyville, and on attending public worship a day or two afterwards in our sylvan chapel, when divine service was concluded, he narrated the various circumstances connected with his visit to the colony, speaking in high terms of the kindness and hospitality of the English, and describing the seriousness and solemnity which he had observed in their religious assemblies, showing that they considered God's worship to be a work of great importance. His statements excited no small interest.'

About this time an event occurred which brought out the character of Kama as a Kaffir warrior; and though it was not a question of war on a large scale, yet there was quite enough to show of what metal he was made. He has been represented as a man of a gentle spirit, and as having nothing of the daring or the dash of a Kaffir warrior; and the inference has been offered, that therefore his conversion was no great triumph of the Gospel after all. Truly, he was a man of a mild and gentle spirit; but, at the same

time, one of strong convictions and fearless courage, prompt in action, and bold in the battle-field, as the following incident will show. ' One day, while Kama and some of his men were lying on the ground and chatting together near where I was standing, a man shouted the war cry from a neighbouring hill, and instantly the whole party, with many others on the place at the time, seized their weapons and rushed off at a very high speed. Presently, on the heights opposite the station, we saw a strong party of the hostile clan who had avowed their intention of attacking Kama and his people approaching with shields, spears, and warlike head-dresses. Kama and his men rapidly obtained from his kraal similar appliances, and set off to meet their enemy. In a very short time they confronted each other. Kama inquired what was the meaning of an armed force like that coming into his country. He was answered by an assagai or javelin hurled at him by the chief of the opposite party. Instantly the whole were engaged. The conflict, however, did not last long. They had no firearms, but fought exclusively with their assagais. The attacking party soon found that they had undertaken more than they could accomplish. Kama's people were also rapidly increasing, numbers coming to his help from all sides. The enemy, finding himself likely to be surrounded, scattered and fled into the nearest bush and deep ravines, and thus escaped total destruction, leaving, however, three men killed on the spot. A considerable number were wounded also on both sides.' (*Story of my Mission*, pp. 388—9.)

Here, then, on the show of danger, there was no weakness, no pusillanimity, no waiting until he could get an army together and prepare for a regular combat

with the foe, but instant, bold, fearless action, calling together the men at hand, engaging in the conflict, and routing the enemy. The same fearless courage was manifested in the subsequent wars of the colonists against the Kaffirs, in three of which Kama and his people were bravely engaged.

The time had now arrived when Kama began to feel the necessity of taking a more decided position on the side of Christianity. Serious thoughts took possession of his mind, and powerful emotions moved the depths of his soul. As before narrated, when on his first visit to Graham's Town, in divine worship he felt a mysterious, unseen Hand upon him, and gave expression to his deep feeling in tears. A Kaffir does not weep for a little thing; as a rule he is by no means demonstrative; and only when moved by powerful convictions does he allow his emotion to appear. Nay, often he is under deep conviction and engaged in secret prayer for some time before he fully declares himself 'on the Lord's side.' But the obstacles in Kama's way were of no ordinary kind. For a nation to cast away her gods in the person of her king is an action which goes down to the foundations of the heathen fabric, which has been ages in constructing, and has become hoary with time. And to remove a system of deep-rooted superstition and sensual gratification for the holy religion of our Lord Jesus Christ is to achieve a glorious triumph. Besides this, Kama was a young chief with brightening prospects opening before him; and to become a Christian involved the possibility of his being cast off by the nation, and being reduced to the position of a wandering fugitive on the face of the earth.

But, notwithstanding the difficulties and dangers which beset his path, he resolved upon decided action. He embraced Christ and His Gospel, and took up his position on the side of the Church. He, with his wife, joined the small class which had just been formed by Mr. Shaw as the first Methodist class in Kaffirland ; and, under date of August 19th, 1825, he makes the following statement: 'Amongst the natives I baptized at Wesleyville were the chief Kama and his wife. The latter is the daughter of the great chief Gaika, and sister of Makomo, the noted leader in the late Kaffir wars. Kama and his wife, amid many temptations and serious difficulties, designedly put in their way by heathen chiefs, to seduce them from their steadfastness, are still members of the Church, and regular in their attendance upon its ordinances.' From this solemn decision, and the public profession that followed, he never swerved or drew back, but for fifty years maintained his integrity against all 'seducers and opposers.'

But in process of time, as things did not move on very smoothly betwixt Pato and Kama, the latter separated from the former, taking so many of the people with him as chose to share his fortunes. The clan was not large at first. In 1835 he first removed to Newtondale, not very far distant from Pato ; but, after remaining there for about three years, he removed again with his people about one hundred and twenty miles northward, inland from the sea to a part of the country claimed by the Tembookies. This would be about the year 1838. I was appointed to the mission station on the Beka River, being about six miles from Fort Peddie, and twenty from Wesleyville. After the war of 1835, Pato and his people removed from Wes-

leyville, and took up their abode in this locality ; the 'great place' being about two miles from the station. At that time very little was heard of Kama ; his name was scarcely ever mentioned, and his dwelling-place was almost unknown.

But when the war of 1846 broke out, immediately after my leaving the Beka, Pato was either drawn or driven into it, which proved his ruin. But Kama came to the front, and was soon found ranged on the side of the English, he and his people doing hard and dangerous duty in this war.* By their aid, together with the assistance rendered by the Fingoes, the line of posts was kept open from East London along the frontier up to Fort Beaufort, by which means supplies could be landed at East London, and forwarded to the various encampments, so as to enable the army, when hard pressed, to keep the field. The value of these services could only be estimated by the loss and damage which must have taken place had the troops not been able to keep the field. Had they been driven back, to retake what was lost could only have been done at immense cost of men and treasure.

In 1849 the Rev. W. Shepstone was appointed the Missionary to Kama and his people. The station was named 'Kamastone,' for the purpose of honourably perpetuating the names of Kama the chief and Shepstone the Missionary. This was a fitting distinction, inasmuch as Shepstone was a fellow labourer with William Shaw when the mission at Wesleyville was commenced.

During the eleven years which intervened from the time of Kama taking up his abode in this distant

* This was yet more signally repeated in the war of 1850-2.

locality to the appointment of the Rev. W. Shepstone as his Missionary, the Christian principle and genuine piety of Kama were severely tested. He was isolated; he stood alone far distant from any Wesleyan Missionary, and without the spiritual oversight or civilising influence of any white man. If his professed religion had been one of opinions and dogmas, it would have waned and declined, and he would have returned to heathenism. But this did not take place; he had the 'root of the matter within him,' the root of divine saving grace, which is more powerful than opinions, creeds, dogmas, or professions. He not only sustained his position as chief of his people, but also became their spiritual adviser and leader. On the Sabbath he collected his people together for the worship of God; the Holy Scriptures were read, exhortations given, and prayer offered; which religious exercises were attended and followed by a number of his people embracing the truth as it is in Jesus, and consecrating their hearts to God. Thus the priest-chief was found faithful, until God in His good providence sent the people a regular pastor, upon which some thirty or forty professed converts were handed over to him, and became the nucleus around which so many have subsequently gathered.

The station thus established soon became prosperous, a considerable number of Kama's people living upon it, who began to feel their position, and turn their attention to the arts of industry; so that their material as well as their spiritual interests progressed favourably. This continued until the war of 1850—2 broke out, which proved to be the most bitter and deadly of all the Kaffir wars, owing mainly to the



fact that many of the half-castes and Hottentots who were British subjects became rebels and joined the Kaffirs. Many of these possessed firearms, and knew how to use them with deadly effect. The Kaffirs and their allies took advantage of every opportunity of rushing into the colony along the whole line of the extended frontier, from the seaboard up to the Stormberg range of mountains; the troops and burghers were hard pressed, and suffered serious reverses, until they were at length 'shut up in Whittlesea,' with very faint prospects of making any successful assault upon the enemy. This information was given me by one of the bravest English captains of the burghers, and is fully corroborated by others. At this critical and dangerous moment Kama and his warriors came out, and, attacking the enemy betwixt Whittlesea and Kamastone, fought a hard battle, in which Kama and his men were victorious, driving back the infuriated foe, and turning the scale of war. From that day the burghers, thus reinforced, were able, not only to 'hold their own,' but to 'turn the battle to the gate,' and by degrees drive back the Tembookies, until that part of the country was cleared, and the government was able to arrange the terms of peace.

At the close of the war large portions of land were taken from the conquered tribes, and were allotted partly as farms to Europeans, partly as native locations, and partly as government reserves. The Ghika Kaffirs, who had dwelt between Fort Beaufort and King William's Town, had been engaged desperately in this war; and to dislodge Makomo from the mountains and kloofs above Fort Beaufort, and Sandilli from the gorges and fastnesses of the Amatola Range,

had been a most difficult task. Indeed, the writer, when looking at some of these 'strongholds' in the *Waterkloof*—as 'Makomo's Den,' and other places near Fort Fordyce—has wondered however the troops and burghers could dislodge them at all; more especially as the war was to a great extent of the guerilla kind, and the Kaffirs had every advantage of local knowledge, and could from their hiding places pick off the parties in search of them, whilst they themselves were unseen. But, terrible and prolonged as the war was, the troops and burghers ultimately conquered, and the country was taken from the Kaffirs, the government assigning to those who were conquered land in other localities.

At the close of the war, therefore, the government gave Kama and his people a tract of country along the Keiskama River, from Middle Drift downwards; being bounded on the south-west by the Keiskama River, on the north by the road leading from Alice to King William's Town, and on the west by the Ncera River—say, about twenty-five miles in length and eight or ten in breadth. This country was given for the twofold purpose of rewarding their loyalty and fidelity to the government on the one part, and of forming a breakwater against any future incursion of barbarous tribes on the other part.

To this location Kama and his family and people removed in 1853, and there they have dwelt for the last twenty-six years. Of his family there were three sons and two daughters. All the sons promised well for a time, but it is to be feared that two of them were ensnared by that fell destroyer *Cape brandy*, and were brought to a much earlier grave than they pro-

bably would have been but for that terrible scourge. William Shaw Kama, the only remaining son, is now chief in his father's stead. He is a consistent Christian, a local preacher and class leader; and, if his life is spared, will doubtless be a great blessing to the tribe. Kama also left two daughters, both of whom are married and have large families. William has no child, so that at his death the name of Kama will become extinct in the male line.

Soon after Kama took up his residence at Middle Drift, a new mission station was formed with him and his people. This station received the name of Annshaw, in honour of the devoted Christian lady who was the wife of William Shaw, and 'whose praise is in all the Churches.' This has probably been the most successful mission station in South Africa; certainly has had the largest number of members and workers of any connected with the Wesleyan Church in the country. The following are the statistics of the Annshaw circuit for 1874-5: 2 European Missionaries, and 3 native Missionaries; 78 preaching places; 84 local preachers, including exhorters. There were also 110 class leaders, and some 1,500 members, including those on trial. There were 12 day and Sunday schools, and about 750 scholars. The whole of these did not belong to the Kaffirs of Kama's people, there being some Fingoes; but Kama's Kaffirs could be taken at one thousand members. . When we add to these the number who have 'died in the Lord' and gone to heaven, and those who have removed to other parts of the country, with adoring gratitude we may well exclaim, 'What hath God wrought!' How wonderful the progress since 1825! 'The first public baptismal

service was held at Wesleyville, August 19th, 1825.' 'On this occasion three of the native converts were baptized in the presence of a large number of people.'

The Rev. W. Sargeant was the Missionary to whose lot it fell to commence this Mission. The Rev. W. H. Garner was next appointed, and was followed by the Rev. Robert Lamplough, whom the Rev. J. R. Sawtell succeeded. In the early part of 1871, the writer of these pages was appointed, and after four years was followed by the Rev. Ben S. H. Impey.

In 1873, the period of which I now write, the superintendence of the circuit involved an immense amount of care and effort; there were 1,400 members, to whom tickets had to be given every quarter, and all the finances to be managed by myself. The local preachers' and quarterly meetings occupied the greater part of two days, whilst fifteen day-schools had to be managed, the oversight of the whole being regularly taken. All the salaries of the teachers had to be provided, partly by government aid through the minister, and partly by the contributions of the parents of the scholars. At this time also the correspondence with government was large, especially as I was getting the mission locations of Annshaw and Peuleni surveyed.

In the early part of April the native district meeting was held. The creation of a native ministry was effected a few years before. It was small in its commencement, but its importance was of great magnitude. It had now become an integral part of the ministerial work, its value and usefulness being increasingly felt from year to year. At this meeting twelve Kaffir and Fingoe Missionaries assembled, there being also nine European Ministers present. The meeting occupied

two days, Mr. Impey being chairman. The proceedings were of a highly important nature. These were mostly conducted in much the same manner as at English district meetings, there being, however, the adaptation of the different parts to the altered circumstances of the missions, the people, and the work. A lengthened discussion took place upon the subject of Kaffir customs. These customs, with their polluted and enslaving effects, were fully understood by intelligent, earnest Kaffir Missionaries; the manner in which they so greatly retarded the progress of the work was fully pointed out, and the best methods of dealing with them were considered. The meeting was closed with renewed determination on the part of all to devote themselves with increased vigour to the prosecution of the great work in which all were engaged.

One event which made this meeting more memorable than others was that of holding a camp meeting by way of experiment, in doing which the people of the circuit, with all the day schools, were called together. There was a very large assemblage; but what very seriously interfered with the proceedings was the unfavourable state of the weather. Fine weather was essential to its complete success, as the people had to camp out to a great extent; but as the weather was wet, and the wind cold, the people were obliged to gather together mostly on the station, for which there was not sufficient accommodation. The services had also consequently to be conducted in the chapel. These religious services were of a very profitable nature, a spirit of quickening pervading the whole. In one of them a Kaffir Minister was ordained, who

had gone into the ministry from the Annshaw station. This solemn service was thus rendered increasingly impressive ; a deep spiritual influence pervaded all present. The chapel was, however, much too small to admit the number of those who sought admittance.

The district meeting closed, and the European Missionaries with their wives departed to their homes ; but the people were not willing to separate without greater spiritual results, and the native Ministers, now being relieved of the attendance at the district meeting, were free to render aid in conducting the meetings. On the same morning, the weather having become more propitious, we sallied forth. The meeting was held on a hill not far distant. By 10 o'clock a.m. the meeting was commenced, the day schools forming an inner circle, and the adults gathering round ; probably there were 500 people in all. I opened the service by giving out a Kaffir hymn, after which one of the native preachers engaged in prayer ; then followed a short sermon from another native preacher, which was succeeded by an earnest address from a third. By this time a mighty movement was being felt, the power of God overcoming all opposition ; when one poor heathen woman was brought into the reserved space in the inner circle, and fell prostrate to the earth in agony on account of her sins. The movement now became general, and one after another yielded to the divine power, and joined in seeking God with ' strong crying and tears.'

At this stage of the proceeding I walked out of the centre to obtain some relief. On the outer verge of the circle I found an old heathen sitting in mute astonishment, apparently not willing to join with the

others, and not knowing how to go away. I entered into conversation with him, and pressed upon him the necessity of immediate submission to Christ; but he was still unwilling. I then inquired what he would do when his soul went out of his body; his answer was that in the other world he wished to go to the place where the spirits of his fathers dwelt; but I told him that God would not send him there, as his guilt was greater than theirs, and his punishment would be greater in proportion. I left him without success. Would this be the last call of God to him? I am not aware that I ever met him again.

I then returned to the meeting. I had some difficulty in getting into the inner circle, but upon getting there I witnessed a scene which I had never beheld before. I had been in England during revivals, and had seen the power of God in a wondrous manner; but anything like this I had not before seen. There were some ten or twelve heathens in their red blankets and karosses, with all their heathen trappings and ornaments, prostrate on the ground, in the deepest anguish of soul crying for mercy, whilst singing and praying and exhortation were going on by the workers around. I was the only European present; and to me it was an occasion of untold blessing. I lifted my eyes to the heavens above, whilst the hills and the trees and the green grass around were clothed with special beauty, and 'I gave praise to the God of heaven,' and to 'Jesus mighty to save.'

Before the close of the day most of those in distress obtained mercy through our Lord Jesus Christ, and rose up new creatures by the power of the Holy Ghost. In the evening the parties separated in groups to dif-

ferent kraals, where services were continued for several days and nights in succession, the result being the conversion of some thirty persons to Christ. This work was followed, as in all other cases, by the illustration and proof that Christ came 'not to send peace upon earth, but a sword,' and that the different members of the family would rise up against each other; notably, in this instance, the polygamists seeking redress for the loss of their concubines, or in Kaffir parlance wives. Disputes about cattle and children caused much discussion, and had to be settled in the best manner the cases admitted of.

One event of transcendent importance to Wesleyan missions in South Africa was the visit of the Rev. William Taylor in 1865. The services held by him produced a mighty religious effect. Large numbers of Europeans (English, in the colonial circuits) were roused from a state of lethargy, and led into earnest seeking after God. Much preparation had been previously going on, but now the wave of divine influence swept over the colony. The congregations became large, meetings for prayer were held night after night. The Word of God in the mouth of His servant was in 'demonstration of the Spirit and with power.' Many seekers of salvation went long distances in order to attend the services, and usually returned rejoicing in a sin-pardoning God. The work, however, in the hearts of many was not permanent: not because it was not genuine and strong, but because there was a lack of continued watchfulness and prayer, of going on to perfection, and of taking up the cross daily and following Christ. And as they failed to press forward towards the prize of holiness, the world gradu-

ally came in, their faith became weak, and their love grew cold. They did not ordinarily forsake the house of God, but 'the glory was departed'; they had become 'weak as other men,' and powerless for good in the Churches. But, thanks to God! these painful results did not follow in the native work. The work here was *deep and abiding*. This was owing largely to the fact that the workers themselves became deeply imbued with the Spirit of God. Both English and native Missionaries were 'baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire,' and entered heart and soul and body into the work. Hence the spirit and practices of what has been called 'old-fashioned Methodism' came into operation. 'They believed, and therefore spoke.' The great verities of our holy religion entered deeply into their souls; they became 'workers together with God,' and 'God worked with them and signs followed.' Repentance, faith, pardon, and purity in their mouths were not so much theological terms as words of life and salvation. There was the flash of vivid truth; their words were words that pierced the heart and conscience of the hearers, and they burned as they came from burning hearts. Such was the character of the native preachers at the Annshaw district meeting. The same spirit and practice still prevail.

These men and others likeminded are believers in the philosophy of Christian work, that where the cause is there the effect must follow. Hence in the winter season, when the nights are long, the people being comparatively unemployed between the reaping of the harvest and the sowing for another crop, it is usual for the preachers to hold special services for days together, sometimes extending over two or three weeks; *this is*

their harvest time. It is the time when the heathen are having their beer-drinking, dancings, &c., so that Satan does not have all the benefit in the sensual orgies that are going on, but by these devoted men he is robbed of many souls, whilst Christ the great Master 'divides the spoils.' The results in the increased number of Church members are not, however, so favourable as might be anticipated from the number of persons that are professedly converted. This is owing largely to the fact that many of them by some means or other find their way into other Churches, and these Churches are largely fed from this source. One reason of this is that *discipline* in the Methodist Churches is more strict than in other missionary Churches. More especially so in connection with *beer drinking* and *ukobololo*, that is, buying wives by the giving of cattle to the parents or friends of the girl who is to become the wife or concubine of the purchaser.

In these and other ways it may be calculated that one-third of professed conversions are lost to the Wesleyan Church; so much so that it has many times occasioned deep and earnest inquiry in my breast whether in these things we should not relax and adapt our usage to that of other Churches; but after long and earnest inquiry I have concluded that we should not act wisely so to do, when our practice has so far worked so well. For in the *first* place we obtain the best of the converts, those who do not seek to make any compromise with sinful and heathen practices. *Second*, by having a Church of 'total abstainers from intoxicating drinks,' we are saved from the sad falls of our people into the prevailing sin of drunkenness; which is a source of great comfort and confidence to the Missionary,

especially when he not unfrequently witnesses the sad effect of this practice in many others. *Third*, our people are saved from the promiscuous assemblage of professing Christians with heathens in their beer-drinking debauches, which often last night and day until the whole of the liquor is consumed. Dreadful quarrels and much sensual gratification also are associated with these orgies. Let it not be said that we thus 'apply the flattering unction to ourselves' at the expense of others. No; we have enough to keep us humble from other causes, but we have a right to claim the benefit when thus obtained at so costly a sacrifice; and we should only be too glad if other Churches would join with us in these things; we believe that it would be ultimately for their benefit as well as ours. The native preachers at this district meeting were total abstainers from intoxicating liquors; the long list of local preachers whose names are given on the accompanying plan were total abstainers; and the one thousand members of the Church in the Annshaw circuit were total abstainers; and what is better still, most of the native Methodists in South Africa are total abstainers. To what extent they have been the means of arresting the ever-increasing flood of intoxicating drinks which is sweeping over the Kaffir nation we know not; but with the painful fact before us of this mighty evil threatening to decimate the Kaffir nation, we must raise our note of gratitude for the fact that our hands are clean from this dire evil, and that a bulwark is raised against its universal spread.

The subject of schools was one of great importance as connected with Kama's mission. At the time of which I write there were fifteen day schools in the Annshaw circuit, ten of which were among Kama's people.

These schools were conducted by native teachers trained at the Heald Town and the Lovedale institutions, and usually there were Sabbath schools connected with these day schools. These schools were largely aided by government grants, both in the salary of the teacher and in furniture for the schools ; the parents being required to supplement the government allowance. The English language was taught in the schools with a good degree of success. The Kaffir was taught in the Sabbath schools ; in this and other ways the scholars had to pick up a knowledge of their own language, which was always done.

The great event of the year in connection with these schools was the anniversary, when all the schools assembled on the station. This was a very high festal occasion. The manner was for the schools to arrive on the Saturday evening, and be located among the friends on the station. During the later part of Saturday, they usually arrived on the other side of the river, when they halted until the sun was low in the heavens ; then they began to advance towards the station one after another at a little distance from each other, so that the songs of one were dying away when those of another began to ascend. The effect was peculiar and delightful, especially if the evening was still and fine. The scholars have fine voices, and take their parts with great ease and correctness, the *sol fa* notation being chiefly used ; and being well taught by their teachers, the singing is good. Thus when the sun was softly declining behind the western hills, throwing his last rays over the heavens, old and young united their voices in praise and gladness. The cheery songs of these advancing schools had a wonderfully soothing and

thrilling effect. The writer has many times stood, and been filled with grateful emotion, especially when comparing these strains of joy with the heathens' loud and weird barbaric songs, which he had so often listened to many years before when a lone Missionary, and when in discouraged mood he had asked, 'Who hath believed our report? and to whom is the arm of the Lord revealed?' will these dark and sensual heathen ever be brought under the power of the pure and elevating Gospel of Christ? Now the voices of hundreds of singing youths said, Yes!

Sabbath morning having arrived, all were astir at an early hour to be ready for public worship. The difficulty was to pack all these scholars in the chapel so as to allow space for the congregation. In order to prevent confusion, the schools were arranged in divisions, giving three or four schools to each division. The singing had also to be arranged so that each division might have its due share of the singing part of the service, so that none might feel that they were left out or slighted. A course similar to the above was adopted in the evening; the afternoon was employed in the first part of the examinations.

Monday was, however, the grand gala day. This was pre-eminently *the children's day*, and right heartily did they fill the whole. On the Sabbath they were dressed in ordinary plain cloths, but on the Monday there was a considerable display of fashionable attire, for the purchase of which their fathers had to dip rather deeply into their pockets, whilst Manchester had supplied the material and the merchant had sold the goods. Parasols were regarded as a necessary appendage by the elder girls. Early in the morning all was

in motion to get their food, of which some of them had only a scanty supply, and to dress for the occasion. By nine o'clock they began to form in schools and divisions, each school marching towards the Mission-house, singing along the path, when an appropriate banner, previously prepared, was handed to the elder boys to be borne aloft during the day. The school then passed on towards the chapel, being followed by another until all had passed. In the chapel they took possession of the places they had occupied the day before, thus preventing confusion. When all were in their places, the examination was resumed for about an hour and a half. This over, the schools then emerged from the chapel, and marched, in due order, with banners flying, to the residence of the old chief Kama, halting by the way to give Mr. Cumming, a worthy English local preacher, a cheery song.

Upon arriving at Kama's cottage, the venerable old chief was seated under his verandah, clothed in his Sunday best, ready to receive them, with a benignant smile upon his face. The schools were arranged in three divisions in a half circle around, so that all might be seen and heard when they sang their sacred hymns and songs with full hearts; sometimes one school singly, sometimes altogether. The effect of the whole was delightful, well worthy the artist's pencil. At the close, the fine old chief rose up and addressed both teachers and scholars in a few well chosen words; after which the whole took their departure with a hearty cheer for their good old chief. The schools then re-formed in due order, and proceeded to the residence of the magistrate, when a very similar course was passed through, the magistrate giving a short address. This

part of the proceedings closed with three hearty cheers for the Queen, three for the governor, three for the magistrate, and three for the Minister.

The whole then returned to the chapel, when they were dismissed for a short time to take refreshments. In the afternoon they again assembled on the slope of the hill, when all the '*treat*' they could receive was *one two-penny bun each and a little water to drink*. So that there was no excess of feasting here, and an English school would pronounce this poor fare. After this addresses were given by any present who felt disposed to speak; this occupied only a short time, as those who could speak were not in speechifying mood, and those who should hear were more anxious to engage in the games which were now commenced. The sable juveniles were quite up to the mark in making merry, engaging in their frolicsome sports with great zest and glee.

About six o'clock in the evening all assembled again in the chapel, when the examination was resumed; the whole being in the English language, and performed in so creditable a manner that I have never known it surpassed by any English school. The Wesleyan catechisms and Scripture lessons were used; and frequently two or more boys or girls took parts, the one in the English and the other in the Kaffir language.

I have thus, at some length, given a detailed account of a school festival at Annshaw, such as was usual once a year until sadly and rudely broken by the late rebellion, but which it may be hoped will be again resumed when things return to their former state of prosperity. If an apology is necessary for the length of this record, it must be found in the fact that anything of a similar nature I have never witnessed

either in England or Africa, and it could only be rightly understood by giving the proceedings in a detailed form. Such a scene cannot occur again, as the chief personage in the proceedings cannot be there—Kama, the old chief, has passed away. Some persons in Africa may say,—Yes ; we know that the natives can dress and sing and play, but we want them to work, and should like the whole thing much better if there was something about work mixed up with it. Yes ; but this was a school festival, and not intended for a display of working ability. But let me remind all such objectors that in order to produce such a festival there must have been work somewhere, as it is computed, at a moderate calculation, that £300—*three hundred pounds in hard cash*—would be required to pay for the *English manufactured fabrics* which were brought into use on the occasion. Where did this £300 come from ? Did they steal it ? No ; it was the product of work which would probably not have been performed but for this *created want* ; and hence the shopkeeper, as well as the manufacturer, is benefited by the occasion. Besides, this is only one of the many other ways in which the Missionary is advancing the civilisation of the heathen, and the demand for European products. The stimulating effects upon the minds of both parents and children is very great ; and the children of the heathen can see that everything is not dull and dreary connected with religion, and that if these young people are not allowed to engage in the sensual dances and customs of the heathen they have something that is higher and nobler and better.

Having thus given some account of pure missionary work, with the modes of conducting it, and some of

the successes achieved, I return to the thread of the narrative in connection with Kama and succeeding events.

During the twenty-three years of Kama's residence at Middle Drift he held on 'the even tenour of his way,' mild, gentle, and just. As a ruler among his people, he ever sought after peace in settling their various and sometimes serious disputes. To do justly to all parties alike was his constant aim; and he so far succeeded as to secure the confidence of his people, both Christian and heathen, and was confided in and respected both by Europeans and Kaffirs. He was a fine specimen of the Christian Kaffir gentleman.

As a Christian, he was sincere, modest, and steadily devoted to God and his mission. That he had his defects and failings was but human; but these were few and small, considering the fact that he had only been recovered from heathenism a short time and was surrounded by much that was deteriorating. He was exposed to temptation and danger, and sometimes was brought into slippery places by those whose higher civilisation and elevated rank should have been to him 'a tower of strength'; but by the grace of God he was enabled to stand, and thus maintained his Christian character to the end.

I was appointed to take charge of the Annshaw station in the beginning of 1871, being assisted by one European and three native colleagues. On my arrival I found the old chief growing feeble, but still able to walk about the house. Being no longer able to walk to church, he was conveyed thither in a spring cart. As he walked tremblingly up the long aisle of the church, he had a specially venerable appearance. His

tall figure, not yet stooping under the pressure of age, but erect in its bearing, his grey hair and intelligent face, lighted up with a benignant smile and looking complacently on all around, together with his goodly European clothing, made him a striking contrast with the low savage or the sensual heathen; and my heart many times ascended in thanks to 'the God of all grace' for the blessed transformation effected by the pure Gospel of the Son of God. The religion which could effect such a result must be divine !

When he became too feeble to be conveyed to the house of God for public worship, the services were held in his own house ; the class was met by Mr. Cumming, an Englishman living close by ; and preaching was conducted by myself and others. During the service the old man would kneel in prayer as long as he was able, and respond to the thanks and petitions offered ; and then, whilst the sermon was being preached, would sit alone on his much-worn horse-hair sofa, his eyes glistening with delight, or sending forth gushing tears, whilst Jesus, the Saviour and the Resurrection, was preached ; the whole closing with a deep 'amen' from his sable lips.

The close now gradually drew near ; the tabernacle being taken down, not by disease or violence, but quietly and gradually, 'in age and feebleness extreme.' During the earlier stages of his sickness, some of the heathen councillors sought to induce Kama to call in the aid of heathen doctors ; but in vain ; he persistently refused. When I spoke to him about the better land, and God's mode of taking down the body with the assurance that it would rise again, 'made like unto the glorious body' of the Son of God, and reminded him

that in heaven there would be no more pain, no more sorrow, and 'no more death,' his eyes sparkled with joyous emotion. When the crucified One was set before him as his atoning Saviour, he rejoiced to acknowledge Him as the Redeemer in whom he trusted for salvation.

For some time his mental powers had become feeble, and towards the close he became insensible. The Rev. Ben S. Impey, my successor at Annshaw, thus writes of the closing scene: 'I have only time this morning to write a line to inform you of the death of the old chief Kama. The happy release took place last night at half-past nine o'clock. Mr. Cumming and I and several of his people were with him. He was quite unconscious, and had been for some days. Just before he died, he opened his eyes, looked round the room, and smiled two or three times, and then quietly passed away.' He was interred on the following day, the funeral being attended by a large number of his people and friends,—not fewer than seven hundred or eight hundred, Europeans and Kaffirs,—who thus paid their last mark of respect and esteem to the 'old chief.' In this manner terminated the earthly course of this first Christian Kaffir chief, after a consistent career of half a century. How great the contrast with that of the death of a heathen chief, dying in the dark, and having no cheering ray of hope beyond the cold grave; others probably being tortured and put to a cruel death for the imputed crime of witchcraft! But here all is calm, whilst mourning friends can only think of the emancipated spirit as being bright and happy before the throne of God. His age is not accurately known; he could not be less than seventy-five years old, and might be more.

Kama never had but one wife, and she survives him. She became a member of the Wesleyan Church at the same time that Kama did, and has continued steadily walking on in the Christian path through the many years which God has given. She is still able to attend the house of God, and does not fail to come whenever circumstances permit. She is spared to see her children of the third generation growing up around her.

What has been already written relates chiefly to Kama and his mission. I have designedly refrained from going into particulars about the tribe, in order to avoid breaking the thread of the narrative ; but Kama and his mission would not be complete without some distinct notice of the tribe. The romantic origin of the tribe has been given before, so that the subject has only to be taken up briefly from the commencement of the mission. When Mr. Shaw and Mr. Shepstone began the mission at Wesleyville, Pato was at the head of the tribe ; Kobus and Kama were brothers, the latter being the younger. It has also been noted that at an early period Kama separated from Pato, with those of the tribe who chose to share his fortunes. The clan was not large, and lived in an unsettled state for years, first at Newtondale, and afterwards at Kamastone. After the war of 1835, Pato removed from Wesleyville to a place about ten miles below Fort Peddie, and the Beka mission station was placed about ~~six~~ miles from Peddie ; ' the great place ' being some two miles distant from the station. I was the Missionary on this station in the years 1844—5. Pato came often to the station, and occasionally to the church, with a few of his followers, covered with red blankets. At that time he had many people, and was regarded as one of the richest

chiefs in the land, in point of cattle. I removed from the station a short time before the war of 1846. War was impending, and I saw that Pato was in danger of being drawn into it. I faithfully warned him of the consequences, and dissuaded him from taking part in it to the utmost of my ability. But in vain. From causes which it is not needful to state, he joined the other tribes in this maddened conflict. After a long struggle and the expenditure of much treasure and loss of many lives, the British troops were ultimately victorious. Pato was among the last to submit, harassing the troops and burghers for a long time in the gorges and fastnesses of the Kei River. It was a dark day, a fatal day for Pato and his people, when they plunged into this war; their losses were heavy, their ruin complete.

Pato lost his cattle, his land, his people, and ultimately his liberty. He was taken prisoner, and transported to Robin Island; whence he returned after some years, an old and feeble man. He was located near Fort Murray, some ten miles from King William's Town, not far from the Mount Coke mission station, where he lived a few years, unnoticed and unknown, and then died, unhonoured and forgotten.

Not so with Kama. The reader has already been informed of his wanderings, his loyalty to government under adverse circumstances, his steady heroism in time of war, and, ultimately, his being located on the Keiskama River. From that time to the present the colony has not again been desolated by war. Kama and his people have dwelt in peace, under the fostering hand of the British government, and the Christian influence of ministers and teachers. They have in-

creased in numbers, in material wealth, and in social position.

The table of the census of 1857, as given by me in my work on *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*, states the population at 12,938. The census on the 1st of January, 1875, shows 17,619, being an increase of 4,681; probably, in reality, about 5,000. The future increase must of necessity be limited, as the location is now occupied to nearly the extent of its capability.

The census gives further—2,962 huts; 709 horses, 16,579 cattle, 20,461 goats, 44,848 sheep; 45 waggon, 553 ploughs; 307 arms; taxes paid to government £1,481, being considerably more than the government expenses upon the location. This amount is obtained by *direct taxation upon the huts*.

We have here, then, a tribe of sixteen thousand souls, gathered out of fragments; its origin being that of condemned men saved from death by the humane interposition of Kwane at the risk of his life, and increased by small additions from time to time under Kama. These are in a state of considerable advancement, religious, social, and civil; under magistrates, Ministers, and teachers.

What has made the difference between Pato and his people and Kama and his people? CHRISTIANITY! Christianity alone! Christianity as imparted, instrumentally, through Wesleyan Missions. Glorious results! Truly Christianity is the conservator of nations!

When the mission was commenced by Messrs. Shaw and Shepstone, everything was in favour of Pato and against Kama: but Kama yielded to the teachings and claims of our elevating, ennobling Christianity, while

Pato rejected them; the former course led to honour and long life, the latter to shame and death. The one chief sinks into an obscure grave, and is forgotten; the other dies in the midst of his friends, and is carried to his grave amidst the respectful regrets of thousands of his people, whilst 'his memory is blessed.'

There are those who say, 'Civilise first and Christianise afterwards.' I hold this to be false in principle and impracticable in action. The question has been argued out fully in my work, *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*; I discuss it not again in this place, but adduce the above by way of illustration and proof. Nay, the facts are still more potent; for even among the people of Kama's tribe there are at this day thousands who remain heathen, and as such are not advanced a step in civilisation above the heathen in the depths of Kaffirland, although they are surrounded, not only with the civilisation of Europe, but likewise with the civilisation of hundreds of their own nation, who, being Christians, have grafted civilisation upon Christianity, or adopted civilised habits as a natural result. If the census given above were analysed, the probability is that nearly the whole of the forty-five waggons would be found to belong to Christians; scarcely any to heathens. This is the only outward, tangible test; as ploughs and sheep are now taken up by the heathen as well as the Christian. The heathen know the value of woolled sheep, and get them so far as they can; and to get ploughs is almost a necessity, as the women are no longer willing to 'pick' the ground as they did.

But how about the future? This is a grave question, and the answer to it is of a vital nature. The two points which are to determine this are: First, is their

land secure? second, to how great an extent are brandy-drinking and Kaffir customs to be allowed? In answer to the first inquiry, I am thankful to be able to say that there is every reason to suppose that the question is set at rest. As the result of the most determined and persevering effort on my part against the most harassing and formidable difficulties, I have succeeded in getting the locations of Annshaw and Peuleni (Perksdale) surveyed, in which there are village and garden allotments for individuals or families and a large commonage as public grazing land for those who hold the allotments. The *personal titles* to Annshaw are now issued, and those for Peuleni are in preparation,—more than one hundred in each case; the people being already in possession of their allotments, as pointed out by the surveyor; and so the difficult question is set at rest.

Then in reference to the lands of the whole of Kama's country. These have been in jeopardy, the government evidently thinking that these were only lands held by Kama and his people on sufferance. Hence a short time ago a party sought to obtain a part of the country,—say four or five thousand acres, and the government entered into arrangements with this party to have the land surveyed and alienated, and employed the surveyor, without the slightest reference to Kama, or asking his permission. So that the grave question was put: "Can the government give Kama land one day, and take it away another without asking about it? If a Kaffir lends a cow to a man, he does not take it away without asking." Fortunately for the security of this tribe, *Sir George Grey executed a title to the country* during his term of office; which title was

deposited in the charge of our general superintendent, and by him in my hands, for safety and use at the time. Without delay I consulted the proper government authorities ; when, strange to say, they had not the original, of which this should be only a copy, or duplicate. But when I presented this title to the 'commissioner of lands,' he refused to acknowledge it, being willing to treat only with Kama on the subject. But Kama was now too feeble ; his son, William Shaw Kama, had been installed as chief by the tribe some time before ; but this action had not been regularly executed in connection with the government, and Kama had made no will, so that the commissioner said, 'I don't know William Shaw Kama ; he is only a private person in the eyes of the government : we cannot treat with him,' &c., &c.

Under these circumstances, without delay, I had a legal document prepared by an attorney, in which Kama formally abdicated the chieftainship, and his son William formally accepted the same, according to the conditions of the title. But this document, *in duplicate*, must be signed by the old chief in the presence of the councillors and headmen of the tribe. Hence, on a day appointed they assembled at Kama's residence. His mind, however, had become so feeble, and his suspicions so great on all land matters, that it took some time for his family and councillors to explain the document to his comprehension. This, however, was fully effected, when his signature was appended, with that of his son, William Shaw Kama, and those of legal witnesses. After the whole was completed, all the councillors, headmen, and the now formally installed chief, rose to their feet to thank me for what I

had done ; whilst the old chief sat in their midst under his verandah, a smile of satisfaction having taken the place of the look of anxiety which before marked his countenance. I felt this to be a moment, not of pride, but of true gratification and thankfulness that I had been enabled under God to settle a question which was vital to the tribe ; and in this, as well as other matters relating to the country before named, I felt that my Missionary life, standing for the last quarter of a century upon this native land question,—as fully treated in my *History of Natal* and *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*—had only been a preparation for these important events, which in their consequences will affect the parties concerned to a greater extent than can be imagined by those who are not acquainted with the difficulties and dangers of land questions among the natives in this country.

But some may say, ‘What had you as a Minister to do with these things?’ My answer is : First, they are not matters of a political nature, but such as affect the temporal and spiritual interests of the parties concerned for many years to come ; and it would not be difficult to show that the spiritual interests were more seriously involved than the temporal. Second, had I not done these things, no other parties could or would. I proposed to William Shaw Kama that they should employ an attorney : he went home, and they talked over the matter all night ; and the next morning he came with one of his councillors, and begged me to do it for them. He said, ‘We have no one to look to but you ; we do not understand the ways of lawyers ; we are willing to pay the lawyers, but it must be through you,’ &c., &c. I only yielded when I saw that this

necessary business would not be done at all unless I did it. Afterwards I was fully convinced that no attorney would have obtained the signature of the old chief. I was not aware at the time that his suspicions were so deep and so difficult to deal with.

This was the last public act of Kama's life; his mind was set at rest; and doubtless this had much to do with smoothing his pathway to the tomb. A few days afterwards I left Annshaw, to take my appointment at Fort Beaufort, where the parties could still consult with me upon matters which concerned them.

The other great danger to the people and hindrance to the spread of the Gospel among them is *Cape brandy* and vile *Kaffir customs*. Limited space does not permit me to enlarge upon the latter: their name is 'legion.' I have written upon them in my last work, *The Kaffir Races*, and any reader who may desire to know them somewhat more fully may obtain the information there. The neglect of the government in relation to some of these things is deeply to be deplored. Heathens, in the exercise of the most vile and abominable customs, in the colony, *hide themselves behind the shield of the government's allowance of them*; whilst native Christians, lovers of order and decency, are discouraged and to a great degree paralysed.

In the historical notices given in this chapter of Kama, his mission, and his people, nothing of moment has been omitted, whilst at the same time unnecessary detail has been carefully avoided. The whole is a practical comment upon the apostle's declaration, 'But godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to

come.' (1 Timothy iv. 8.) The following posthumous testimonies as to the character and conduct of this Christian chief, given by the highest and most impartial authorities, form a fitting conclusion to the record of this worthy man's life. They are taken from the *London Watchman*, for June 7th, 1876.

To the Editors of the ' Watchman.'

DEAR SIRS,—During my recent extensive journeys in South Africa I visited the Annshaw station, and was gratified to find it in such a flourishing state. The following communication will, I am sure, afford pleasure to your readers. No man is better able to form a sober judgment of the value of Christian missions among the African races than Mr. Brownlee. I need scarcely say that the Mr. Shaw referred to is the late Rev. William Shaw, whose memory is affectionately cherished by the Amagqunukwebi.

I am yours truly,

G. T. PERKS.

“ ‘Tis an ill wind that blows nobody any good,” is an old proverb, the truth of which the inhabitants of Annshaw or Middle Drift have proved, as on account of the swollen state of the Keiskama River we have been favoured for a day or two with the presence of the Hon. Charles Brownlee, Secretary for Native Affairs. Mr. Brownlee arrived here on the 14th, *en route* for King William's Town and the Transkei. Many of the natives had assembled to meet him on that day, but were unable to cross the river. On Tuesday, the 15th, word having been sent to the village on this side the river that Mr. Brownlee wished to meet the people, they assembled to the number of about two hundred and fifty or three hundred in the chapel.

‘Mr. Brownlee spoke to this effect : “My friends, I am glad to meet you again to-day. You will have noticed that we are assembled in the chapel, and not in the place where we are accustomed to meet—the magistrate's office. The reason is

this : since I last saw you, you have been bereaved of one who for many years was your father and your chief, and I have taken this opportunity of calling you together that I may speak a few words to you about him, and express my sympathy with you in your loss. We are met together in the chapel in which he was accustomed to worship, and near the grave in which he is buried—not to discuss any political question, but that we may mingle tears of sympathy and sorrow. My words to-day shall be few, and I think I cannot do better than read you a letter which I wrote to the chief Kama a month or two before his death, because this letter contains all I now wish to say to you.”

‘The letter was here read, which will be found below. After reading it Mr. Brownlee continued : “This letter is now your inheritance, and I wish you to make it as public as you can. I wrote it, not only for Kama himself, but also for his people ; and I hope you will often think about it, and refer to it ; and I trust it may be the means of comforting you, and doing good to many of your countrymen who have not yet come under the power of the Gospel of Christ.” Mr. Brownlee then spoke upon the blessings which follow every nation that embraces Christianity, and contrasted the condition of Kama and his tribe with the state of other tribes that rejected the Gospel, and concluded by bringing prominently before the people the fact of the decided and unwavering stand which Kama took in opposition to trials and taunts from his own councillors, as well as from other chiefs ; and that though he had been repeatedly urged and actuated to take other wives, he had remained faithful to the wife of his youth.

‘William Shaw Kama, the chief, Joseph Tole, the headman, and one or two others, said a few words in reply, in which they thanked Mr. Brownlee for this meeting, and the kind words of comfort and encouragement he had spoken. They thanked the government for its past acts of kindness and consideration, and expressed themselves as well satisfied to remain under British rule, and trusted that the government would care for them in the future as it had done in the past.

‘Mr. Brownlee having stated, at my request, that the following was to be the inscription upon Kama’s tombstone :

WILLIAM KAMA,

CHIEF OF THE AMAGQUNUKWEBI,

BORN 1798, DIED OCTOBER 25TH, 1875.

A NOBLE MAN, A JUST GOVERNOR, AND A FAITHFUL
CHRISTIAN :

the meeting was closed with prayer.

‘The letter referred to above is as follows :

‘OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS,

‘CAPETOWN, *August 14th*, 1875.

‘To Kama, Chief of the Amagqunukwebi,

‘Greeting ! Now that, at your own request, bowed down by the weight of years, you seek to retire from the cares of chieftainship, and obtain the rest and quiet which your age demands, and to which your past services entitle you, it is my duty, in the name of the government, to record a few words as an inheritance to your son and people, and as a lesson to instruct your countrymen of other tribes.

‘The matter on which I now write is great—it is the history of a people for fifty years. It shows why the proud sons of the royal Pato bowed down to the children of the despised house of Kwane ; but my words shall be few, lest in the multitude of words my meaning should be hid.

‘I may call to your recollection the memorable visit of Mr. Shaw to the Twecu, now fifty-two years past, when you and he were young men and I an infant. To you I need say no more ; for you know what followed upon Mr. Shaw’s visit, and that to this you owe your present position.

‘What has become of Pato and Kobe, your brothers and superior chiefs ? Where are their people and their sons ? Only their names remain, while you occupy a country, not yours by inheritance, and once owned by your superior chiefs—and why ? Because you received the teaching of Mr. Shaw, and your

brothers rejected it. Having placed your Christianity in the first position, and having shown that you owe your position to having accepted and steadfastly maintained the teaching of a Christian Missionary, I shall now proceed to show in few words how this result was brought about, not indeed for your sake, but, as already said, for the sake of your countrymen.

‘First, then, in the war of 1835, you were found on the side of government ; again in the war of 1846 you were faithful and rendered good service ; and in the great war of 1850 you remained unchanged, and again you and your people fought on our side. All these services induced the government to give to you, a small chief of a minor tribe, a country better and larger than the one which you had formerly occupied. This country has been secured to you and your people by title, and nothing can dispossess you of it except your own act, and that is, rebellion against the government that put you in possession. Again, in 1856, when the Kaffir tribes, who had given themselves over to a delusion and to believe a lie, destroyed their means of subsistence, you, by the superior knowledge you had received, and in obedience to the government, saved your people from self-destruction ; and then the proud sons of Pato bowed down to the descendants of Kwane, and received food from your hands ; and the sons and people of your brothers, on whose account you had been a wanderer in Basutoland and Tembookieland, became your servants.

‘I need not say more, and will only repeat what I have already said in order to make my words plain. You received the teaching of Mr. Shaw ; you became a Christian, and consequently your acts were just ; you restrained your people from the course which involved others in destruction ; you were the steadfast friend of the government. Hence your present position ; and you, just as your great ancestor, became the preserver of outcasts from superior tribes, and these now call themselves by your name ; and even more than this, the mission station, which once was ruled by Macoino, the proud and haughty son of Ghika, now owns you as its chief.

‘To-day you are the only chief of the Amagqunukwebi. This is the lesson which I wish to record for the instruction of your son, your people, and your countrymen ; and with the

earnest hope that your remaining days will yet be many, and that they will be peaceful and pleasant,

‘I remain, your friend,

‘C. BROWNLEE,

‘*Secretary for Native Affairs.*’

‘KAMA’S REPLY.

‘MIDDLE DRIFT, *September 24th*, 1875.

‘To the Secretary for Native Affairs.

‘Dear Sir,—The letter you sent me in the name of the government I received through my honoured and beloved magistrate. I am thankful for it, and thank the government for answering and granting my request.

‘I am thankful to the government for protecting me, for the way they have dealt with me, and for screening me from my enemies.

‘I have lived comfortably all the time I have been under the government. I have found that whosoever hath surrendered himself to the government is dealt with well, is peaceful and free. I am thankful for my protection and that of my children and tribe; for the place of abode, comfort, and freedom we have.

‘As now the government has allowed me to rest from the affairs of chieftainship, I therefore am thankful, and would recommend my son, whom I leave in my place, according to the agreement of the government. I beg the government to protect my son, as it has done me, his father, and to give him rest and peace under you. I earnestly hope that the same way you have treated me you will also treat my son, William Shaw Kama. My chief! preserve my son and offspring, my children’s children.

‘I request the government in its ruling that always one of my offspring should act for the government in my tribe, the Amagqunukwebi; together with whom I have served government. My tribe is still under you, which during these three wars—Hintsas’s, the War of the Axe, and Umlangeni’s—have truly fought for the government. We were faithful to govern-

ment, myself, my son, and my tribe. We have not, nor ever had we, any idea to leave or rise up against the government, our chief. Preserve my son, preserve my tribe, while I am still living; let your faithfulness and great goodness not cease even when I am no more. I your humble servant. Let the government dwell well.

‘I am your humble servant,

his

‘KAMA +

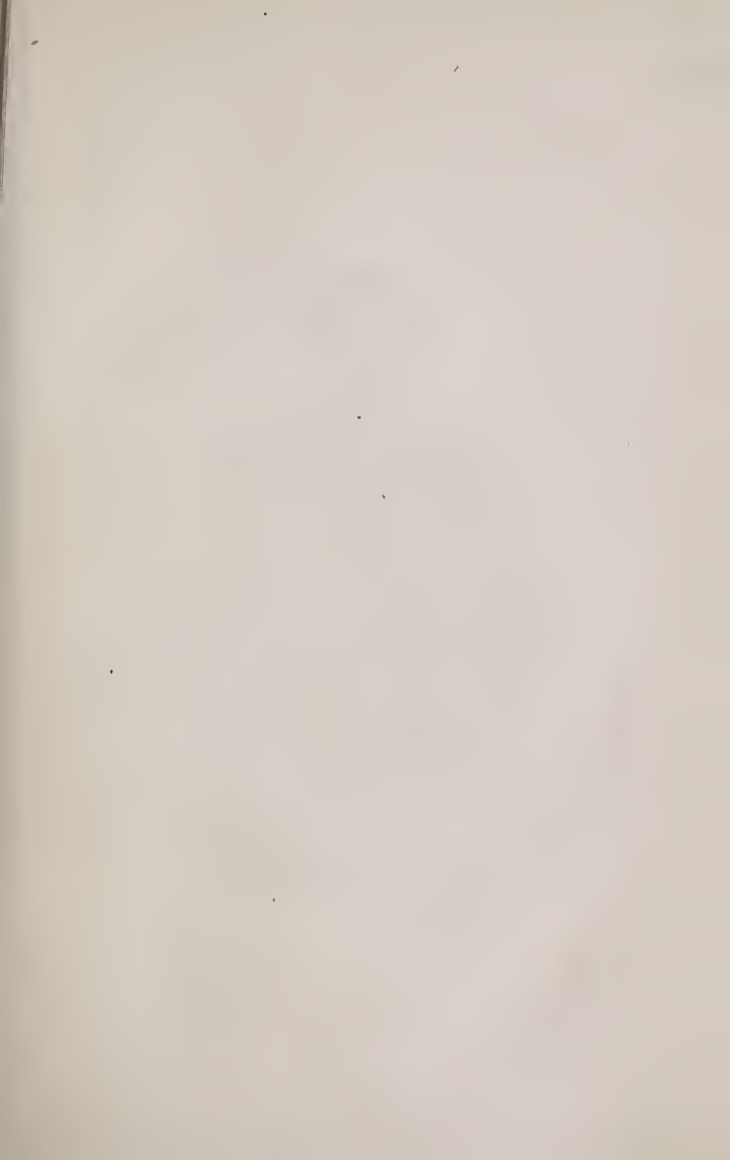
mark.

‘B. IMPEY, Wesleyan Minister.

ANNSHAW, MIDDLE DRIFT, *February, 1876.*’

This testimony is a suitable close to the character and excellence of the worthy Christian chief Kama. The above quotation is from the highest authority of the land in which he so long dwelt, and where he was so well known to the officers of government, as well as the people in general. His consistent Christian character was not ephemeral or short lived, but extended through the long period of fifty years and more. It was not of delicate growth, reared under what is called the ‘hot-house care of a mission station,’ but had endured the adverse winds of storm and persecution, being for a long period at a distance from any Christian teacher or pastoral oversight. He had to be and was the priest as well as ruler among his people, during which period, instead of the little light he had received becoming extinguished, it shone with greater lustre; instead of the little Christian influence possessed by himself and people dying out, it increased and extended, until, when a Missionary was appointed to his people, he had a small but vigorous little Church of living members to

hand over to him ; which Church, under more favourable auspices, grew to what has been recorded in these pages, and still survives. The next chapter will record the trials, the constancy, and the permanent successes of this Church.





WILLIAM SHAW KAMA.

CHAPTER II.

THE RAFFIR CHIEF, WILLIAM SHAW KAMA.

WILLIAM SHAW KAMA was the son and successor of the late chief William Kama. The history, the tribe, the Christian character, and the death of the father have been recorded in the last chapter. The character, the conduct, and the prospects of his successor will form the subject matter of the present chapter. As already chronicled in the previous chapter, William Shaw Kama was installed into the chieftainship of the tribe, in tribal form and manner, some time before his father's death; but the consummation of this was only effected in connection with the government, when I succeeded in obtaining the legal document in which the father formally and legally abdicated the office and responsibilities of the chieftainship, and the son in like manner took over the office and the responsibilities of it. William is now in middle life; he had two brothers, both of whom have been dead some time, without issue. William is not of robust health, but being rigidly abstemious in his habits, he may live many years, and be very useful to the tribe both as their civil ruler and their spiritual guide. He is tall, and slenderly built, retiring in his habits, and gentlemanly in his deportment.

William Shaw Kama was early brought under religious influence in connection with his father's Chris-

tian life and the teachings of Christian Missionaries. He never entered into the degrading immoralities of heathenism, these being alien to his instincts and religious convictions. At an early period of his life he was brought under the power of the Gospel; he was deeply convinced of his state as a guilty, lost sinner, and fled to Christ the Saviour for refuge; by faith in His atoning merits he obtained conscious pardon, and received the evidence of his heirship to a kingdom which shall not pass away. At one time he attained a high state of Christian experience, being on the mount of light, purity, and blessing. His 'peace flowed as a river, and his righteousness abounded as the waves of the sea.' This exalted state of Christian experience he did not retain in its fulness, but whilst having sustained some loss, he has still retained his decided spiritual life, and a large amount of force of Christian character, his conduct being in accordance thereto.

When Christian missions advanced in the land, and a native Kaffir ministry began to be formed, he became a candidate for the ministry, and for the space of five years faithfully and efficiently performed the duties connected therewith, and would doubtless have continued them to the present day, and have been ordained to the full work of the ministry, had it not been for claims of another kind which were now brought to bear upon him. These claims related to the peculiar state of the tribe at this time. Kama, his father, was now old and becoming feeble, and according to the laws of nature must soon decline and sink into the grave. He had no other son but William to take his place in the tribe as chief, and he became very anxious about it. But the office of chief was incompatible with that of

the Methodist ministry; one or the other must be set aside. William was most unwilling to abandon the ministry for the chieftainship, and his worthy Christian wife was likeminded; human greatness and worldly glory had no attractions for them as compared with the work of Christ and the more distinguished honour of winning souls to Him. They had laid their earthly honours at His feet, and accounted their highest honour to consist in seeking to place the crown upon the head of Him who was 'King in Zion.'

The wishes and claims of the tribe and of the old chief were, however, very strong; these were urged and reiterated without ceasing, until the continued opposition of William was evidently very painfully affecting the health as well as the spirits of the old chief; and not until William thus saw that prolonged refusal might be attended and followed by painful if not fatal results, did he yield. I was the Missionary at the time, and many hours were spent in thoughtful, prayerful conversation upon the subject. It was a joyful day to old Kama when he transferred his position and office to his beloved William, and his passage to the tomb was thenceforth smooth and comparatively bright. The old chief died shortly after, as recorded in the previous chapter. William continued to be a worthy class-leader and local preacher, which offices he still continues to hold. But it has now become my painful duty to record a succession of trials in connection with the late war and rebellion of a most harassing and distressing nature. In doing this my object will be to present a truthful, dispassionate detail of the whole proceedings.

But before detailing the events connected with the rebellion, it is needful to give some explanations where-

by the English reader may be the more fully enabled to understand the whole case.

1. The large Kaffir tribes with which the English have been brought mostly into contact on the frontier of the Cape colony in the various wars which have taken place have been the Gcelakas on the north-eastern side of the Kei River, and the Ghikas on the south-western side of the same river.* The *table* of chiefs given in my former work on the Kaffir races will show that both these tribes have descended from one great stock, namely, the renowned chief Xosa; hence at a future period the tribe became divided, one part occupying one side of the Kei River, and the other part the other side of the river. But whilst separate as to locality, and independent as to tribal action, they were one in nature, sympathy, interest, and action, the whole becoming known to frontier people as the *Amaxosa*, as distinguished from the other tribes of Kaffirland. It was from the Ghika division of this tribe that Kama and his tribe descended, the account of which is given in the former chapter. Old Kama's wife, the mother of the present chief, was the daughter of Ghika, from whom this part of the tribe took its name, and sister of Maqomo, and Sandilli, who has just perished in the late rebellion. Hence, by family connections as well as national instincts, William was directly connected with the Ghika tribe; there was thus everything in his nature and position to induce him and his people to assist in the rebellion, and unqualified resistance so to do only stamps their loyalty with a more marked and triumphant character.

2. The scene of action on which the most determined resistance was made by the Ghikas against the

* See Map I.

colonial forces was along the line of Kama's country.* Had the locality been distant, the temptation to join their brethren would have been much less powerful; but instead of this, every one who knows the locality is aware that the main road from King William's Town to Alice has the Perie range of mountains on the right hand, and Kama's country on the left hand, the road being the division line.* The Perie Mountains were the last stronghold of the rebellious tribes, to dislodge them from which was the most difficult task of the colonial forces; and one battle was actually fought on the road itself near to the Debe Neck. Thus it will be evident to every careful observer that the loyalty which was proof against such immediate pressure must be of the most genuine and determined character.

3. In the correspondence shortly to be quoted it will be seen that some ninety men were killed, having certificates upon them of belonging to Kama's country; but the explanations given will *prove* that although they lived in Kama's country, *they were not Kama's own people*. The explanations will show that, in the time of famine arising out of the Ghikas having destroyed their food under the delusion of the witch doctor Mhlakaza, thousands died of starvation; but of those who did not thus perish, a large number found their way into Kama's country, and were preserved alive when others were dying of famine. When I was Missionary among Kama's people at Annshaw, during four years' residence I was not able to tell which were the refugees, so completely had they become amalgamated with Kama's people. But when the rebellion came to their doors *it was these refugees who joined in it, and not*

* See Map I.

Kama's own people; and for them Kama could not be fairly held responsible, as they did not properly acknowledge his authority, but did their business directly with the *English special magistrate* at Middle Drift, who was the magistrate over the natives in the tribe and district. The above explanations will show how critical and difficult the situation of Kama was, and how thorough the loyalty must be which could withstand the whole.

The above explanations being furnished, I now proceed to state that the war in Gcelakaland began in the early part of 1878. The seat of the war when commenced was, say, 150 miles distant from Kama's country, being on the north-east of the Kei River.* There had been for some time increasing unrest betwixt the Gcelakas and the Fingoes, who lived along their border, until it broke out in open war, being brought to a climax in connection with a beer-drinking fray. The English government took the part of the Fingoes, and here open war commenced; some severe fighting followed, in which the colonial forces, assisted by imperial troops, were mostly victorious. When the Gcelekas were thus hard pressed, they began to travel westward across the Kei, and as the Ghikas under Sandilli occupied the country along the western side of the river, the Gcelakas in considerable numbers, under petty chiefs, found their way among them, and fanned the war spirit of the younger portion of the tribe, until at length Khili and his people rose in rebellion, as they were British subjects, residing in the colony at the time. By degrees these came farther westward by way of Keiskama Hoek, and were joined by many of their nation from different parts of the colony. The point at which they

* See Map I.

made their final stand was at the Perie Mountains, as before stated, bordering on Kama's country. Then was it that Kama's troubles began in real earnest, most of the Kaffirs around him, and many beyond him, going into the contest with their might. That course of intense trial, which the following records will detail, now commenced.

When Kama and his people were brought into sore extremities, he related some of these to a friend in presence of a number of credible witnesses. Shortly afterwards a paragraph appeared in one of the local papers giving a statement of some of these pressing hardships. Attention was called to this paragraph in parliament, but the reply given was by no means satisfactory. After this, official investigation was made; but instead of Kama's statements being disproved, they had this additional grave fact established; viz., that when Kama was going into King William's Town he was met by a number of volunteers, who inquired who he was, and upon being told that he was Kama, they pointed their guns at him, and threatened to shoot him.

The following statement of the case of Kama and his people appeared in the *Graham's Town Journal* of June 14th, from a party on the spot, who knew well the circumstances of the whole affair:

Now that the war may be considered virtually at an end, at least so far as open rebellion is concerned, and there being no probability of any other tribes within the colonial boundary 'rising,' it may perhaps be useful if we give a short account of the position occupied by Kama and his tribe, both before and during the rebellion.

It is scarcely necessary for us to remind our readers that this tribe has always been loyal and faithful to the British government, and that it was on this account that the government gave

them the country they now occupy, and secured it to them by special title.

Since the year 1856, and the famine which followed owing to the cattle-killing, commonly known as the Mhlakaza and Nongqause affair, numbers of Ghikas and refugees from other tribes, including the followers of Pato (who are the proper Amagqunukwebi, as Pato was old Kama's eldest brother, or the son of Cungwa's chief wife), have been allowed to settle in Kama's country, and were consequently spoken of by the name of 'Kama's people.' This admission of Kaffirs from other tribes, not partaking of the loyalty of Kama's people, was a mistake, but it was no doubt allowed for the best at the time. When the present war broke out, many of these men returned to their chiefs, and those killed in rebellion were reported as Kaffirs of 'Kama's tribe.' Had their certificates of citizenship been made out in this form, 'So-and-so, a Ghika, now residing or living in Kama's country,' instead of simply, 'So-and-so, Kama's tribe,' it is very questionable whether any of Kama's own people would have figured in the list of rebels, as we learn on very good authority that only one of Kama's own people has joined the rebel party; but even allowing that all those who have turned out as rebels were Kama's people by right of occupation, the proportion is very small indeed, not being more than 100 as carefully ascertained by the magistrate (the exact number is ninety), and that out of a tribe which numbered at the last census 15,000 men, women, and children. There has not been a single instance of a headman or councillor joining the rebels, though the headmen number over thirty, without reckoning councillors who are not headmen of kraals.

Kama and his people, who were anxious to show their loyalty by fighting on the side of the government, as in previous wars, have been grieved that they were not allowed to do so. It may here be mentioned that in January last, about the time of the Ghika outbreak, Kama received information from one of his people that Edmund Sandilli (then magistrate's clerk at Middle Drift) had been attending midnight meetings in the Perie, and was preparing to join his father, etc., which information was at once conveyed to the government through the special magistrate, but it was said there was not sufficient evidence upon which

to apprehend him. Two or three weeks passed, and Edmund Sandilli was in arms against the government !

When the chief received information that the Kaffirs under Seyolo and Delima were passing through his country and making for the Ntaba Ka Ndoda, he started off, with the consent of the magistrate, to try and intercept them, but unfortunately the rebels crossed higher up than it was thought they would ; and when Kama and his men were upon the point of making their way to Fort White to assist the troops there, a message was sent to them, at the request of the officer in command of the imperial troops at Fort White, that they had better go home again, as he could manage without their assistance.

A few days after this, information was again received that the rebels were still in the bush in the lower end of the country, and it was at once arranged between the magistrate and Kama that he should place 300 men in the field, and try to scour the bush. The men were soon got together, and an English commander was placed over them by the magistrate ; but before they could reach the bush a special messenger was sent after them to say they were to return, as word had been received from King William's Town that the government did not require their services, and they were to be disbanded.

Not many days after this Kama casually met with General Thesiger, who asked him why he did not come to the assistance of government. Whereupon Kama replied that he was ready and anxious to do so, but that his services had been declined, and then related all that had taken place. The general then told Kama that he would see that 300 or 400 of his men were called out. Kama's reply was that he would be happy to obey any instructions which might be given him by his magistrate. The men have never been called for. Many times the chief of this tribe has been blamed for allowing rebels to pass through his country ; but how could he prevent it when not allowed to have an armed force with which to patrol his own country ? He was informed that 'government only wanted the assistance of his eyes and ears ; all he was to do was to report matters to his magistrate.'

The position of this tribe has been particularly trying during the whole of the war. Many an act of injustice has been done

them, some of which are even now in the hands of the government for investigation. Several loyal men have been shot by Fingoes and others without any reason whatever. These cases were reported to the authorities, who promised to see justice done ; and there the matter dropped. In fact, the Fingoes have done all they could to force the tribe into some act which might be taken as rebellion against the government. In one instance false evidence was given against two men, father and son, as being in league with the rebels. This charge could, we believe, have been disproved ; but while some Fingoes were taking these men to King William's Town for trial, they deliberately shot them, and left the bodies lying side by side. The magistrate reported the matter, and the Fingoes who committed the act are to be tried for murder. We understand, however, that all who were in charge of these men have not yet been apprehended.

Unfortunately, not only have the people been ill-treated by the Fingoes, but they have in some instances suffered injustice at the hands of some of the colonial forces. In one instance, two horses strayed from the Annshaw commonage, and were found by a certain volunteer force then stationed at Fort White. The horses were taken to King William's Town for sale, but after a great deal of trouble to the owners, the captain received in a lawyer's office the sum of £5 as expenses connected with these horses, and thereupon agreed to deliver them up the next day. Instead of this the next morning but one the horses were put on the market for sale, and would have been sold, had not the owner seen them, and again called in the assistance of the lawyer.

It is not to be denied that there has been some thieving among the tribe of late, but this has arisen mainly from hunger. They have stolen as much from each other as from farmers. Thefts have been committed among themselves almost every night. We are informed of four cases in which the results were fatal to the thieves. They had gone to rob the mealie pits in the kraals, and, not allowing a sufficient time to elapse after opening the pits for the carbonic acid gas to escape before entering, were found dead in the morning, or so far gone that they died a few moments afterwards.

For the last two or three years the crops of grain reaped in

Kama's country have been very small indeed. Last year the harvest in many places did not pay for the seed. Very little, if anything at all, will be reaped this season, as the rains came too late to save even the little seed that came up, so that there is no prospect before the people but starvation, unless work can be found for them. We may here state that the special magistrate has sent to various parts of the colony over one thousand persons—men, women, and children—within the last month or two.

On the whole, it will be seen on a fair investigation that Kama and his people, as a tribe, have done nothing to forfeit the good opinion the country has ever had of their loyalty. They have remained true under very trying circumstances; they have stood the test of unjust suspicion and forced inaction; and their good behaviour, no less than their present reduced condition, justly calls for the consideration and compassion of the government.

As the tide of public feeling still ran high, and received increased momentum in its course by the additional statements given in official publications, I felt it incumbent on me to write a statement which appeared in the same paper as the former, August 26th.

Several random, passing critiques appeared in several newspapers upon my statement, which I did not think were worth noticing, until the following editorial appeared in the *Cape Mercury* of September 2nd :

IF Bishop Merriman or the Rev. Mr. Holden had enjoyed the honour of living in apostolic times, we suppose they would have denied that Judas was one of the apostles or that he was a thief. This would have been an attempt to prove too much, and that is what they are proving now. The way the Methodists are playing fast and loose with Kama's tribe is little to their credit. Recently, when it was necessary to boast of their missions, they claimed the *whole* of Kama's tribe, and boasted beyond measure of their loyalty; but when dead bodies were found with passes showing that they were registered as under that chief, then Kama's tribe were only a handful, and the others were rascals from other tribes. Had this been said from the first, it

would have been better for the missionaries, and Kama too. Mr. Holden's letter, however, deserves the careful attention of the government, for it seems that though there are, or were, 17,000 persons in the location, the major part are refugees who have occupied the land against Kama's wish. These should be compelled to move; but were this attempted, then proceedings would be taken by Missionaries on the other tack. As to the bishop, he needs to rub up his geography again, for we have heard some hearty laughs at his expense, because he says the Kwelegha River is in Khili's country, and his attempt to explain what happened at Newlands has only to be placed by the side of Commandant Bowker's report to make its mistakes manifest. Rowland Hill, preaching for a Magdalene refuge, from the text, 'But ye are washed,' said some people were only whitewashed, and that is equally true of residents on mission stations. They have been refuges for all sorts of characters, and that some have turned rebels is no cause for wonder, while it really damages mission work to attempt to show that the people on a station are all better characters than the twelve apostles were. But of course the two letters we have referred to were written for those in England who 'must not be discouraged' to contribute more money, and we suppose they will answer that purpose, and nothing is said by the bishop about Edmund Sandilli, who is a member of the Church of England.

As the above editorial contained much that was not true, in addition to some attacks of a disparaging nature upon the various parties concerned, it appeared to call for a reply, of which the following is a copy :

To the Editor.

FORT BEAUFORT, *September 10, 1878.*

SIR,—The editor of the *Cape Mercury* has been pleased to honour me again in his issue of the 7th instant, in this instance placing me in the honourable position of company with the Bishop of Graham's Town.

He says: 'If Bishop Merriman or the Rev. Mr. Holden had enjoyed the honour of living in apostolic times, we suppose they would have denied that Judas was one of the apostles or that

he was a thief. This would have been an attempt to prove too much, and that is what they are proving now.' This, Mr. Editor, is rather far-fetched, and if he, the editor of the *Cape Mercury*, intends thereby to show that William Shaw Kama was a Judas, I remark that, if Mr. Holden attempts to prove too much, he certainly is greatly at fault in evidence and proof to establish his invidious illustration.

More directly—'The way the Methodists are playing fast and loose with Kama's tribe is little to their credit. Recently, when it was necessary to boast of their missions, they claimed the whole of Kama's tribe, and boasted beyond measure of their loyalty; but when dead bodies were found with passes showing that they were registered as under that chief, then Kama's tribe were only a handful, and the others were rascals from other tribes. Had this been said from the first, it would have been better for the missions, and for Kama too.' The truth of these statements I deny, and call upon the editor for proof. Let him point out plainly where it is stated that 'Kama's tribe were only a handful,' and thus show how the Missionaries have attempted to claim the whole for crafty purposes.

Again—'Mr. Holden's letter, however, deserves the careful attention of government, for it seems that though there are, or were, 14,000 persons in the location, the major part are refugees who have occupied the land against Kama's wish. These should be compelled to move; but were this attempted, then proceedings would be taken by Missionaries on the other tack.' The truth of this statement I again deny, and call upon the editor for proof. When and where have I stated that 'the major part are refugees who have occupied the land against Kama's wish'? *No*; but I have stated that out of (90) *ninety* dead bodies found with passes on them, *only one* was found as belonging to Kama's people proper. Hence it was no small major part of the rebels, who had no *bonâ fide* connection with Kama whatever.

But in making this statement the editor will again say I am playing 'fast and loose'; I will try to show that I am not.

1. As to the comparative number of those 'refugees.' In the *official census* returns of 1864, which is the *latest* I have in my possession, the *number of men returned* is 3,456. This number would be considerably increased by the time of the rebellion of

1877. The exact number of refugees in this, say, in round numbers, 3,500 men, out of a population of 17,000, cannot be given. I lived four years as Kama's Missionary in this tribe, and the nearest approximate I can form is that 500 men, more or less, would be refugees, leaving 3,000 men as belonging to Kama; out of these 3,000—*thirty hundred* men—then you have *one man* found dead among the rebels as belonging to Kama's people. If the editor can prove on reasonable evidence that I am in actual error, then I will admit that my comparative numbers are not correct; but I shall not be prepared to take his assertions or guesses for it.

2. Again, the editor says: 'These refugees should be compelled to move; but were this attempted, then proceedings would be taken by Missionaries on the other tack.' Before I answer this statement, let me give the editor a small piece of information which may prevent some mistake. As he and *two other frontier papers* have tried to prove, so far as assertion will do it, these so called refugees are only made out so to be for the nonce. Instead of this, allow me to say that the *title* to the *country* is made out in the name of *Kama* and his *family* and his *tribe*. Hence, if Kama wished to give these people a legal status, he is unable to do so, as the government could step in any moment and dismiss them as refugees; and, on the other hand, if government wished to alienate any of this land, it is unable so to do, as the title with diagram is as valid as the title of any farm in the country.

3. But again, these special pleaders for the condemnation and damage of Kama and his people will say, 'It is all nonsense to write or talk in this style, as the fact is they belong to him by the influence and power he has over them by their long residence with his people.' This oft-repeated statement, I beg to state, is a perfect mistake. He has no power over them, or if any, very little, as there are headmen in the tribe, and in the most direct manner these people have conducted their affairs *directly* with the magistrate. So that if anything has been wrong, Kama has not been responsible for it; and the attempt to load Kama with ignominy for the misdoings of these people is a cruel mistake as well as a flagrant error.

4. Oh! but 'these people should be compelled to move; but

if this were attempted, then proceedings would be taken by Missionaries on the other tack.' Yes, Mr. Editor of the *Cape Mercury*, now you have it truly; but what say you when this veritable Missionary, the 'Rev. Mr. Holden,' says that he thinks that the greatest benefit that the government could confer upon Kama and his people would be to remove them; *i.e.*, the refugees? This is his impression, and he is the one you are dealing out your castigation upon by name.

This fertile editor then proceeds in his triumphant course to assail mission stations, and brings in the renowned name of Rowland Hill to give fire and gist to his attempt to hold them up to derision. 'Rowland Hill, preaching for a Magdalene refuge from the text, "But ye are washed," said some people were only whitewashed, and that is equally true of residents on mission stations. They have been refuges for all sorts of characters, and that some of them have turned rebels is no cause for wonder; while it really damages mission work to attempt to show that the people on a mission station are all better characters than the twelve apostles were.' One must really assign to this editor special ability and tact in sliding from one thing to another all in one paragraph, and that not a very long one. He turns away from the tribe to the mission station without any notice; he might at any rate give us some slight intimation of what he was going to do, as we are not very clear at detecting fallacies. However, as this has presented itself to our obtuse vision, we must certainly make a remark or two upon it. It so happens that in this tribe there are two mission stations, the (Wesleyan) Annshaw and Knapps Hope: the latter is mostly among the Ghikas who were left there when the country was given over to Kama, and Kama has not recognised it as belonging to his people except in a general way of encouraging the operation of the mission. Then of Annshaw, will the editor take the trouble to ascertain whether the residents are composed of 'whitewashed' people of all 'sorts of characters, some of whom have turned rebels'? If he will do that, I think he will find out his mistake, and, if an honest man, make his apology. But let me inform the editor that this station is simply the head of the mission, as there are some fifty other preaching places through the tribe, with schools, Church members, chapels, etc., etc. Taking the whole together

there have been about one thousand Church members for some years past, but not one of these, as belonging to Kama's own people, was found in the rebellion ; but, as proved in my former statement, hundreds of these were only too ready to join with their chiefs in fighting against the rebels, and in aid of the colonists, but their proffered aid was rudely set aside. I am not trying to make them out better ' than the twelve apostles were,' but I am trying to defend them from the charge of being ' white-washed ' rebels.

Then the whole is consummated by an inuendo, which I will now try to lay bare as it deserves. ' But of course the two letters we have referred to were written for those in England, who must not be discouraged to contribute more money, and we suppose they will answer the purpose.' Indeed ! How then did it come to pass that they were not sent to England instead of being published in a local paper ? The fact refutes the impeachment. I answer, not for Bishop Merriman, but for myself, when I want anything published in England I have the means of doing it without putting it in a local paper. I have now ceased with the editor of the *Mercury*, unless anything further should arise calling for a rejoinder ; but I have now a few things to say further in reference to the subjects treated upon in this letter.

In addition to the serious accusations answered above, it is affirmed that Kama's country is ' a nest of thieves and a rendezvous of stolen stock.' What I have to remark is that during the four years I lived amongst them I believe there were only two instances of stock thefts, one of which was in connection with a man of an adjoining clan ; so that until recently the people were distinguished for their honesty. But when Oba with his people were located on the other side of the Keiskama River, I knew that it would be a most unfortunate thing for the refugees living in Kama's country. But at the same time, it is a fact that some of the reported thefts have been proved to be without foundation. So that a telegram has arrived one day giving some alarming statement of dreadful cattle thefts in Kama's country, but in a few days the newspaper has announced that ' the whole was without foundation, that there was not a word of truth in it.' Whilst amongst the few cases that have been brought to light, when the people were dying of hunger, they have been punished

with the utmost severity of the law ; Kama himself having done all that could be done in detecting the thieves and bringing them to punishment. The land has been afflicted with drought for three years, and the people have been reduced to starvation, until thousands of them have had to leave and get work in the colony; whilst during the rebellion, stealing has been carried on all around them, large numbers of their own cattle having been seized by armed colonial forces and driven off and sold, their owners placed in prison, besides sustaining immense losses. And Kama has had guns pointed at him by volunteers with the threat to shoot him. Is this in accordance with British honour and boasted Christian civilisation?

I regret, Mr. Editor, that this letter should be so long. When I began I thought to reply in a few general statements ; but when I came to examine the import of what was published in the 'Passing Notes' of the *Mercury*, I found that the subject must be dealt with in a more thorough manner. I am aware that some others as well as the editor of the *Mercury* think I have done Kama ill service in what I have written ; I think otherwise. My standpoint of observation and sense of right and justice is different from theirs. Those who have reiterated again and again, in conversation and in print, that Kama and his people were rebels, seem to lose sight of the fact that, if so, they have, not only an indelible stigma on their characters, but that which, if by some happy incident they had not escaped being caught, they would render themselves liable to be hanged or transported for life, as two men are now lying under sentence of death and one of transportation for life for this very crime. Besides this, this dark blot must rest upon them in the future, so that after sixty years of tried loyalty their names must go down to posterity with condemnation if not with execration. Thank God ! whilst they have been tried to the uttermost, their loyalty has remained unshaken ; they have suffered grievous wrong, but have been held back from provoked retaliation. May God defend the right ! Their calumniators ought to do the *amende honorable*, withdraw these imputations, and express their sorrow for the wrong done.

I am, etc.,

W. CLIFFORD HOLDEN.

This closes the correspondence upon the subject, as I am not aware that any further attempt was made to reply thereto. Upon this correspondence it may not be deemed amiss to make a few remarks.

1. I desire the reader to observe that in this correspondence there is a plain, unadorned record of facts. Not an overdrawn picture, not a picture at all, but stern realities; not a 'get up for Exeter Hall,' or to 'delude the British public,' as the editor of the *Cape Mercury* slanderously states: 'But of course the two letters referred to were written for those in England, who must not be discouraged to contribute more money; and we suppose they will answer that purpose.' Whatever might have been the motive of the bishop I do not pretend to say; but so far as I am concerned they were not written for the 'people in England' at all, but for *people in this country and on the spot*, who were capable of testing their accuracy and exposing their fallacies or falsehoods; and as they remained unchallenged, I must claim for the whole established truth and fact. Nay, so far from the whole case, with its details being overdrawn, I have designedly withheld some facts which were of the most harassing and galling nature, but which are capable of being produced if need be. When I prepared the letters and statements given in this chapter, I had no idea that they would meet the eye of the English public at all in the present form.

2. I have carefully avoided any political bias in what I have recorded. I have designedly withheld my own opinions and comments; not because I had none, but because I have been persuaded that they were not imperatively required, and the narrative would

be complete without them. In what has been written and done, *the defensive alone has been* the course adopted. The losses of Kama and his people in stock and other ways have been enormous, and their sufferings very great, nor am I aware that investigation or redress has taken place ; but I have not animadverted upon these proceedings, leaving them to tell their own tale and produce their own effect.

3. From the above correspondence it will be evident that the Christian chief, William Shaw Kama, has passed through a long, fiery ordeal, but has emerged therefrom unscathed; not so much as the smell of fire has passed upon him. I do not wish to say that he is free from the frailties of our common humanity, but I do say, without laudation, that I know not of any speech or action connected with these distressing proceedings which has not been in accordance with true and ardent loyalty to the British throne and government, and the honour of his position as a Christian Kaffir gentleman. The extent of his forbearance and self-control is proverbial, so that under the most trying circumstances he has not been betrayed into angry declamation or rash and violent action. Thus, though I did not write and prepare these documents 'for those in England, who must not be discouraged,' as says the *Mercury*, yet it is only proper that those in England who generously and magnanimously support Christian missions should know the real character of those who have been brought under the power of such missions. These are our witnesses in the Lord.

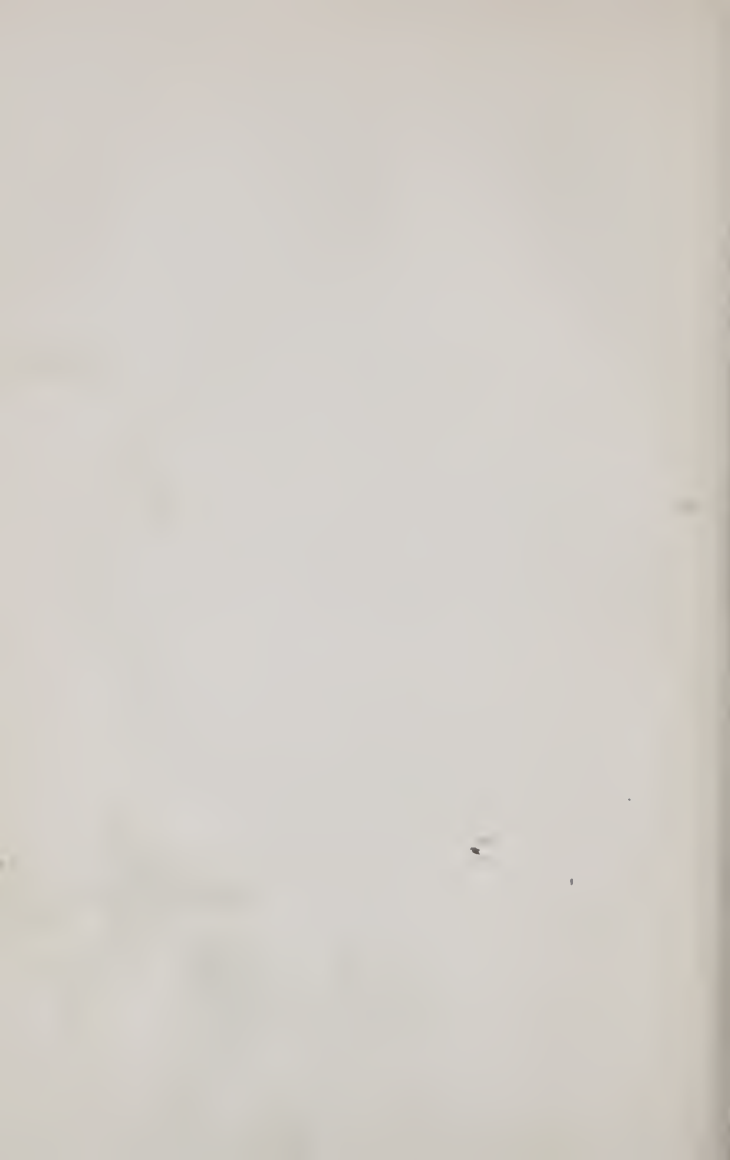
But the interested and anxious reader may ask, What of the future of this people ? The fact at the present time is, that some 3,000 of them, men, women, and

children, are away distributed through different parts of the colony in various kinds of employment. But the question is, Are they likely to be a dispersed, dis-integrated people, their connected existence and distinct nationality being brought to a close? The answer is, No! This will not be. The security of their land by title, obtained by me, as recorded in my last work, *Brief History of Methodism and of Missions in South Africa*, prevents this. Had they been hurried into rebellion, we cannot tell how it would have been with them in this respect; but as they have remained loyal, their land remains secure by *title*. In this respect it differs from what are called 'native locations or reserves' in general. The name on the title deed is not Kama's location, but 'KAMA'S COUNTRY'; and hence, although the people are scattered and peeled to some extent for a time, they will be collected together again and form a connected Christian Kaffir community. Official application has been made that all refugees may, in the general provision and distribution of lands after the rebellion, be removed from the country, and Kama's people alone, to whom it properly belongs, enjoy the whole. In this no wrong will be done to those who have had a refuge and a home for years, but many of whom have sadly betrayed the hospitality of their friends; but as the present time is one of general settlement, they may be provided for in other places. This will for awhile reduce the number of people in Kama's country, but their places will be gradually filled up, and thus, in process of time, as the country is fully occupied, a Christian, civilised Kaffir community will rise, prosperous, permanent, and happy.

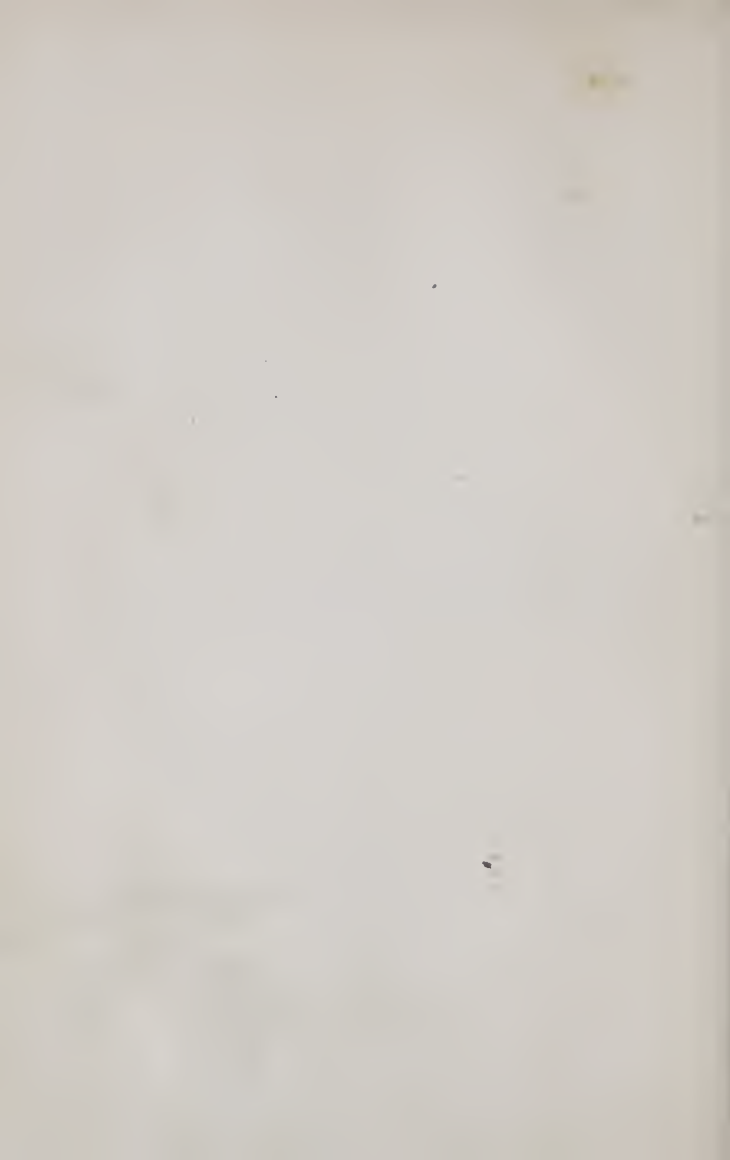
This may be the more confidently calculated upon

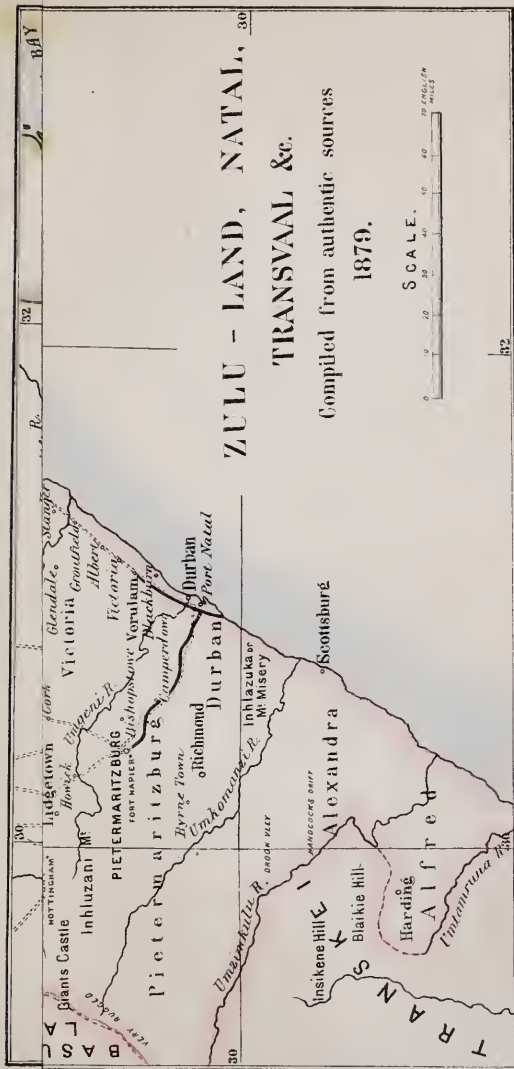
from the fact that the institutions of Christianity, the great civilisers and conservers of barbarous natives, have been firmly established among them. The losses sustained in the actual number of the members of the Church, as returned at the last district meeting, were not so large as had been feared, the numbers being about 130 out of, say, 1,000 returned before.

They have also erected their beautiful '*memorial chapel*,' in memory of the late worthy chief. This chapel has cost £2,500, of which £1,500 has been obtained from the people, the heathen as well as the Christians having contributed towards it, and the whole would have been raised had it not been for the sad effects of drought and war; as it is, the people stand pledged for the amount when more prosperous times return. It is finished, and stands as a noble, abiding monument of the estimation in which the old chief was held by his people; truly 'the memory of the just is blessed.' This fine Christian temple, erected for the worship of the Lord God of hosts, awaits more auspicious times, when it will be solemnly opened and dedicated to the worship of Him who, whilst He dwells in the temple not made with hands, deigns to accept the free-will offerings of His people, and to bless them when assembled in the place where His name is recorded.



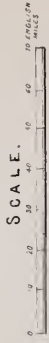
THE
WAR IN ZULULAND.

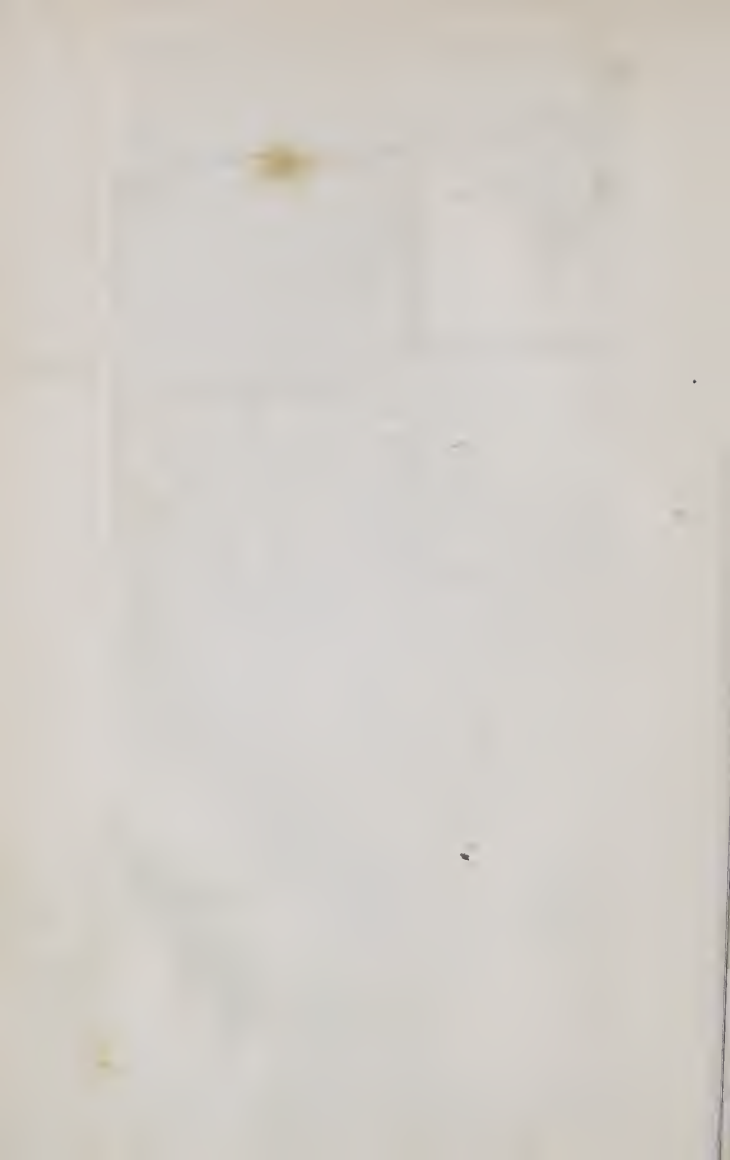




ZULU - LAND, NATAL, 30 TRANSVAAL &c.

Compiled from authentic sources
1879.





THE WAR IN ZULULAND.

IN *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races* I gave rather a full as well as authentic history of the Amazulu nation, filling 125 octavo pages, beginning with its rise under the great Utshaka, and closing with Umpana, the father of Kechwayo. In that history a lengthened account is recorded of the rise of the nation from obscurity, the manner in which Utshaka became the greatest and most successful warrior in South Africa, the formation and constitution of the army, military tactics, and universal conquests. So that when, during the war in Kaffirland, rumours began to be circulated of uneasiness among the Amazulu, I was led to see and say that the war in Gcelakaland was a small thing compared with what a war in Zululand would be, knowing, as I did, the character and strength of the foe. At first it was only the low rumbling of distant thunder; but, as threatening events developed, the peals became louder, and the sounds of a terrible conflict were distinct and alarming, until the storm burst in fury.

In order that the reader may have a clear view of the whole subject, it is needful to give an account of the manner in which this consummation was effected.* Happily, this consummation was not arrived at until

* See Map II.

after the war in Kaffirland had been closed, in which the tribes had been conquered, and a gradual settlement was taking place. But the obstacles in the way of an amicable adjustment of the Zulu difficulties became increasingly more complicated, and assumed a more threatening form, until the high commissioner, Sir Bartle Frere, felt that it was incumbent upon him to have the final ultimatum prepared and presented in due form :

The Natal Mercury, of December 14th, 1878, says :

THE commissioners appointed to deliver the high commissioner's award and ultimatum arrived at the Tugela Drift on Monday, and were informed that Kechwayo's representatives were at Mr. Dunn's, awaiting further intimation. It was arranged that they should cross the river on Wednesday, and receive their messages on this side.

On the appointed day, therefore, Wednesday, December 11th—the date fixed some time ago,—the meeting took place. It was an occasion fraught with the highest political and historical interest. On one side were her Majesty's commissioners, Mr. Brownlee, Mr. J. Shepstone, Colonel Walker, and Mr. H. F. Fynn. On the other were fourteen elderly, and, in many cases, grey-headed natives, chosen from amongst the most venerable and trusted elders of the Zulu nation ; men of acknowledged rank and distinction amongst their people. They had about forty attendants with them. At their head was Uvumandaba, commander of the Umtuhsazwi regiment, and a leading general ; Mandule, who commands the Inkulutyaaisc regiment, and was one of the boundary commissioners, a man of very superior intelligence and judgment, was also one of the party. So was Gebule, who was also present at the Rorke's Drift inquiry, and who, it may be remembered, was one of the bearers who brought in the message complaining of the boer encroachments during Governor Scott's time, in 1864. Very remarkable was the keen and ceaseless attention paid by this wiry little Zulu to every word that was uttered. Mr. John Dunn also accompanied the deputation, in an unofficial capacity.

The scene itself was interesting. On the Natal side stood

forth the bush-clad bluffs by the river, which stretches below to where it enters the sea, three or four miles off. On the other side were the treeless slopes of the hills, one of which near the sea is famous for its ruddy crown; the small patch of forest near the water's edge, seaward; the horizon, being closed in by the blue hills of Zululand. Within sight, and close by, are the scenes of the fight with Mr. Biggar's little force forty years ago, and of the Umbulazi massacre, in 1856, when the blood of three thousand slain reddened the river; and although the present meeting was a peaceful one, suggestions of war were manifest in the camp of the naval brigade, overlooking the river, and the presence on the spot of a small party of blue-jackets and of about twenty mounted volunteers.

The Zulu deputies, having been brought over by boat to the Natal side of the river, were duly received by the commissioners. Mr. Fynney, border agent, acted as interpreter, and rendered most faithfully every word of the two documents, which had been printed in both English and Zulu. The award was first delivered. What occurred we can only, at present, state very generally. We may say, however, that although the Zulus claim the whole of the territory, through which all rivers flowing westward pass, and although the claim was reiterated by the messengers, they seemed, on the whole (as well they might), to think that a satisfactory termination of a troublesome dispute had been arrived at. Mr. Shepstone explained most carefully the line as laid down by the high commissioner. It follows the line of the Tugela to the junction of the Buffalo or Umzinyati, and pursues that river until its junction with the Blood River. The line of that river is then taken to its source in the Drakensberg, and the mountain is then the boundary as far as the sources of the Pongolo. It will thus be seen that nearly the whole of the disputed territory has been handed over to the Zulus. Should Kechwayo persist in a claim to land north of the Pongolo, that claim is to be referred to the British government.

After the award had been made known, a sense of relief was manifest on the countenances of the deputies. They evidently thought that a satisfactory termination had been found to a troublesome business; in other words, they had got more than they expected. An hour's adjournment then took place, and on

resuming the conference, the ultimatum was interpreted to them. A change then passed over the Zulu faces—those faces got longer and longer. This was a very different matter to the other, and they did not attempt to disguise their consciousness of the gravity of the demands made upon them. It is said that they exhibited a desire to be assisted in the disagreeable duty of making known such a series of demands to the king by a representative of the government ; but as they were the only accredited messengers of Kechwayo, it would have been unseemly to depute the duty to others. Both the award and ultimatum were, we believe, handed over in a printed form, both in English and Kaffir. The deputies did not appear to object so much to the demands concerning Usirajo and Umbeline, as to the requirements concerning the fulfilment of coronation covenants, which had, they said, been carried out. Men were not being killed without trial ; but the stipulations in regard to military disbandment, covering, as they do, the permission to marry, were deemed to be a serious interference with the sovereign's prerogative, one which would require more time than a month to consider. Why should any time, indeed, be fixed, they urged, in a matter of such great importance ? Why should they not be allowed to keep up an army when the English government kept up one on its own side ?

The commissioners, however, said distinctly that all they had to do was to make known the high commissioner's decision, without entering into any argument upon the terms of it. These were the last words of the government, and these would be abided by.

The Zulu deputies evidently regarded the proposed change in the marriage system as the most serious item in the programme. They appeared anxious to enter into a discussion of the subject, but they were told that controversy was out of the question, that the duty of the commissioners was simply to make known the words of the high commissioner, and that if any explanations were desired they must be specially asked for. They replied that they fully understood the tenour of what had been conveyed to them, and they admitted that they were able to communicate to the king exactly the words of the government.

Throughout the whole of the conference the demeanour of the Zulus was dignified, becoming, and respectful. There was no

indulgence in any sort of threat, boast, or anger. It was noticed that the younger—and more warlike—portion of the nation was not apparently represented. We understand that Umyamane, Kechwayo's prime minister, was to have accompanied the deputation, but he appears to have changed his mind at the last moment, and was absent, 'one of his wives being ill.' The only appearance of anything like disquietude displayed by the deputies was when Mr. Lloyd, our photographic artist, levelled his camera at the group. The spectacle of this strange, three-legged instrument, with its polished tube, directed seemingly at himself, caused Uvumundaba, the portly leader of the party, to nudge his neighbour, as though telling him to 'look out.' Mr. Brownlee assured him that there was nothing to be alarmed at, but though the sable ambassador succeeded in maintaining his native composure and continuing the conversation, he nevertheless kept his eye fixed upon the mysterious piece of mechanism in front of him.

We believe that Kechwayo is at Ondine, his old kraal, distant not more than forty miles from the border, but we cannot vouch for the statement. If it be true, he would know the particulars of the message within a few hours after the departure of his representatives. Should it be true that his great council has already assembled, there should be no valid plea for delay in communicating his reply.

Messrs. Brownlee, Shepstone, and Fynn returned to town yesterday, and proceeded to Maritzburg during the afternoon. The Hon. W. Littleton, private secretary to the high commissioner, and the Hon. Mr. Minto were, we understand, present at the interview; than which one fraught with more momentous issues to South Africa has never been held.

THE ZULU AWARD.

Message from His Excellency the Lieutenant-governor of Natal to Kechwayo, King of the Zulus, and the Chief Men of the Zulu Nation.

THE Zulu king and nation will remember that some months ago the lieutenant-governor of Natal, at the request of the king, and with the concurrence of the government of the Transvaal,

and the sanction of the Queen's high commissioner, appointed commissioners to inquire into the long-standing boundary dispute between the Transvaal and the Zulus.

The commission met at Rorke's Drift, and there were present during the inquiry representatives, or delegates, both on the part of the Transvaal government and on the part of the Zulu king and nation.

The commissioners having held their inquiry, and having received and heard the evidence and the witnesses on both sides, and all that was brought forward in evidence and said on the question by, and on the part of, both sides closed the inquiry, and returned to Pietermaritzburg, where they drew up a report on the matters brought before them. This report, together with a record of the evidence that has been presented, and of the proceedings, was, as the Zulu king has been informed, forwarded by the lieutenant-governor of Natal to his excellency the high commissioner at Capetown. The lieutenant-governor duly informed Kechwayo of this, and he has since informed him of the arrival of the high commissioner in Natal, and that the question of the disputed boundary was under his consideration, and that, as soon as his excellency's decision was known, it would be communicated to the Zulu king and nation.

A few days since, Umlunge and Umlamula, messengers of this government, and subsequently, Kilane and Swaimana, were despatched to the Zulu king, to inform him that the high commissioner's decision had been given, and that the lieutenant-governor would send fit and proper persons to communicate it to the Zulu king and nation, through representatives to be appointed by the king and nation; and the lieutenant-governor named the Lower Tugela drift, which is on the border of the two countries, as the place of meeting for the purpose; and, as a time for meeting, the lieutenant-governor named a date of twenty days from the despatch of the first message by the messengers Umlunge and Umlamula, should that date suit, as was anticipated, the convenience of the king for despatching the Zulu representatives to receive the words of the award.

The lieutenant-governor now entrusts with his message, and with the charge of delivering the award of the high commissioner, and of giving such explanations regarding it as may be necessary,

the following officers, namely: The Honourable John Wesley Shepstone, Secretary for Native Affairs, Natal; the Honourable Charles Brownlee, Resident Commissioner for Native Affairs, Cape Colony, at present attached to the staff of the high commissioner; Mr. Henry Francis Fynn, resident magistrate, Umsinga division, Natal; and Colonel Forestier Walker, of her Majesty's Scots Guards, lately attached to the staff of the high commissioner, who, with a suitable attendance and escort, will proceed to the Lower Tugela drift, and will there, after placing themselves in communication with the representatives of the Zulu king and nation, deliver to them, and to all whom it may concern, for due delivery to the king and the councillors and chief men of the Zulu nation, and to all the Zulu nation, the award of his excellency the high commissioner in respect of the boundary matter in dispute between the Transvaal and the Zulus, that all may hear and know what the award is, and may abide by the terms of it.

This, then, is the award of the high commissioner in the matters in dispute:

The line, as defined by the boundary commissioners who held an inquiry at Rorke's Drift, shall be fixed as the boundary henceforth between the Transvaal and Zululand, in the territory lying between the Buffalo and Pongolo rivers. The said line of boundary shall be from the junction of the Buffalo and Blood rivers along the latter, or Blood River, to its source in the range of mountains known as the Magidela Mountains, and thence direct to the round hill between the two main sources of the Pongolo River in the Drakensberg.

This boundary shall be marked out, beacons off, and surveyed without delay.

The Natal government will appoint a commissioner, or commissioners, to superintend the execution of this part of the award—that is to say, the marking out and beaconing off and survey of the said boundary line; and the Transvaal will appoint a commissioner, or commissioners, and the Zulu king will appoint a commissioner, or commissioners, who will accompany the Natal commissioner, or commissioners.

These commissioners—namely, the Natal, Transvaal, and Zulu commissioners—will, further, be charged with the duty of ascer-

taining what Zulus, if any, there are on the Transvaal side of the future boundary, and what European residents, if any, or Zulus there are on the Zulu side of the boundary who wish to leave the lands now occupied by them, and remove to the opposite side of the border, or elsewhere.

These commissioners will report also the amount of compensation which they think may fairly be given to any one so wishing to transfer his residence, on account of the alteration of the boundary.

Such transfer of residence will be optional, but those who do not wish to move will remain subject to the laws of that state within which they will reside.

The commissioners will, further, inquire and report whether any, and what, Transvaal settlers, or other settlers of European descent, have been ejected from their holdings in the disputed territory during the last two years by any action of the Zulus.

The commissioners will make inquiry and report how long such settlers had been on the land from which they were ejected ; by what authority, and under what circumstances, they occupied their land ; whether they voluntarily quitted their farms, or were forcibly expelled ; what loss they suffered in consequence, and whether such loss was caused directly by the action of the Zulus, or directly as a consequence of ejection ; and what amount of compensation the commissioners think due for any losses which were the direct circumstances of forcible ejection.

The payment of compensation in all these cases will be a matter for future arrangement between the Zulus and the English government, the Zulus being responsible for damages consequent on the forcible ejection from their homesteads of any settlers who had *bonâ fide* occupied farms in the disputed territory.

The two roads across the disputed territory between the Blood River and the Pongolo—the one known as the ‘Old Hunting Road,’ and the other being the old road from Utrecht to Luneburg—being, both of them, old trading roads, shall not be interfered with or interrupted ; but free transit along them shall at all times be allowed by the Zulus, as has hitherto been allowed by the Transvaal government, to traders and travellers of all descriptions.

The Zulu king shall not attempt to exercise any rights of

sovereignty on the other, or north of the river Pongolo, from its source to where the river enters the Lombombo Mountains.

If the Zulu king has, or considers he has, any claims in connection with territory north of the Pongolo, he will refer those claims to the English government.

This decision is the decision of his excellency the high commissioner, the chief representative of the Queen in South Africa, and is communicated to the Zulu king and nation by the lieutenant-governor of Natal in the name of the high commissioner.

The Zulu king is hereby requested and required to take care that the provisions of this decision are duly observed. The Zulu boundary is clearly laid down by this decision, so that none may say hereafter that they do not know what is the boundary. It is clearly laid down, so that it may be known to all men; and all Zulu subjects must henceforth be careful not to commit any acts of aggression or violence beyond the Zulu boundary, for, after this decision, any such act will be regarded by the English government as an act of hostility, and the Zulu king will be held answerable for any such act.

These are the words of the high commissioner, which the lieutenant-governor of Natal sends, in the name of the high commissioner, to the Zulu king and nation, that all may hear them, and know and fully understand what has been decided.

HENRY BULWER,

Lieutenant-governor.

THE ULTIMATUM.

Message from His Excellency the Lieutenant-governor of Natal to Kechwayo, King of the Zulus, and the Chief Men of the Zulu Nation.

THE lieutenant-governor of Natal sends, in the name of the Queen's high commissioner, these further words to the Zulu king and nation :

These are the words of the high commissioner, and they are sent by the lieutenant-governor through the same officers who delivered the words of the award in respect of the disputed boundary question; namely, the Hon. John Wesley Shepstone,

Secretary for Native Affairs, the Hon. Charles Brownlee, Resident Commissioner for Native Affairs in the Cape Colony, at present attached to the staff of the high commissioner; Mr. Henry Francis Fynn, resident magistrate, Umsinga division; and Colonel Forestier Walker, of her Majesty's Scots Guards, lately attached to the staff of the high commissioner, to be delivered by them to the Zulu representatives, that they may be duly communicated to the king and council and people of the Zulu nation.

The king and nation will recognise, in the award that has just been given in the matter of the disputed boundary, the determination of the British government to give effect to the words that have been spoken at different times by its representatives in this country regarding this matter.

The dispute respecting the boundary was one that had existed for many years. It was a question between the government of the Transvaal Republic and the Zulu nation.

The latter made many and frequent representations to the Natal government on the subject. The government of Natal was always anxious that the dispute should be settled by peaceful means, and always counselled the Zulu king accordingly. It considered that the dispute might be, and could be, settled properly and satisfactorily by means of an impartial inquiry; and was always ready to use its good offices for that purpose. The opportunity for so doing, however, did not occur. The years passed without any settlement of the question, and at length, last year, the Transvaal territory came under British rule. Now, when that took place, the Zulu king, if he trusted the British government, had every reason to believe that whatever rights the Zulus might have in the disputed territory would be investigated and accorded to them. But, without waiting, the king sent armed Zulus into the disputed country, and by threats obliged the European settlers in it to leave their homes. This proceeding on the part of the Zulu king might well have been resented by the English government; but, having regard to the promises and words of its representatives in times past, and desirous to avoid all appearance of prejudging a long-standing question in which its own interests had become involved, it withheld its hand, in order that the inquiry so long spoken of might be held.

The inquiry was instituted by the government of Natal, and

was held by trusty persons appointed by the lieutenant-governor of Natal. It was held in the presence of representatives both of the Transvaal government and the Zulu king and nation, and all that was said and put forward in support of these claims by both parties was heard and considered.

It is clear from the inquiry that some negotiations took place between Kechwayo and the boers in 1861. Kechwayo's right of succession to the late king Panda was then very uncertain. Two other sons of Panda were in the hands of the boers, and the evidence goes to show that certain promises to cede land were made by Kechwayo, partly in order to obtain the surrender of the two sons of Panda, and partly in consideration of presents of cattle.

What was the extent and character of the promises made by Kechwayo has since been disputed, but promises of some sort there undoubtedly were. Certain land also was beaconsed off. But no recognition or confirmation of the cessions said to have been promised by Kechwayo appears ever to have been given by the king Panda or by the great council of the Zulus; and, accordingly, the commissioners who inquired into the dispute, after careful deliberation, recorded their finding against any authoritative or sufficient cession of that land having been made by the king or nation. This decision has been accepted by the high commissioner, and the award of the high commissioner has now been communicated to the Zulu king and nation. This award assigns as belonging to the Zulu nation, and as subject to the Zulu king, a great portion of the disputed land claimed by the king, which land lies between the Buffalo and Pongolo rivers.

But whilst the British government in this way gives up to the Zulu king or nation land which is thought by the commissioners to be by strict right belonging to the Zulus, and whilst the British government has, and will always have, a due regard for Zulu rights and interests, it, at the same time, will strictly require all that is due to its own honour and to the just rights and interests of the Queen's subjects.

It has already been intimated, in connection with the award, which was an award regarding the territory lying on this, or the south side of the Pongolo River, that on the other, or north, side of that river the Zulu king must not, as he has of late appeared

inclined to do, attempt to take any action in respect of that territory, as if he had any right or jurisdiction there ; but that, if the king has, or thinks he has, any claims of any nature in that direction, he must state them to the British government, by whom they will be duly considered.

The high commissioner has had under his consideration the proceedings connected with the outrage that was committed some months ago in Natal territory by Zulu subjects, the sons, relatives, and people of the Zulu chief Usirajo. This has been a grievous and gross outrage committed on British territory. Mehlokazulu, Inkambikazulu, and Tyekwana, sons of Usirajo, and Zuluhlenga, a brother of Usirajo, with a large number of armed attendants, crossed the Buffalo River into Natal territory, in two parties, and by force and violence took out of Natal territory two Zulu women. Having taken these women back into the Zulu country, they there, as is reported, killed them.

The lieutenant-governor of Natal, when he heard of the occurrences, sent messages, one on the 1st and another on the 16th August, to the king, stating what had occurred, and requesting that the son and relatives of Usirajo, the ringleaders of the outrages, should be given over to the Natal government for punishment for the offences committed by them in Natal territory. Kechwayo, in reply, admitted that Usirajo's people had done wrong ; but he had endeavoured to make light of the offence, and he has not given up the men as desired. Instead of doing this the king sent £50, as a fine, in lieu of the punishment of Usirajo's people. The money was not accepted, and the king was told that such a fine would be no punishment for those who were guilty of the offence, and no reparation for the outrage. The king said, however, that he would lay the matter and the demand of the lieutenant-governor before his great council ; but many weeks have passed, and no further intimation has been received by the Natal government to show that the king has laid the matter before the council, or what the result of deliberations of the council has been.

Her Majesty's high commissioner has now, therefore, to require that the Zulu king will, forthwith, send in to the Natal government, for trial under the laws of the colony, for the offence committed by them in the colony, the persons of Mehlo-

kazulu, Inkumbikazulu, and Tyekwana, the sons of Usirajo, and also Zuluhlenge, the brother of Usirajo. Kechwayo, having stated that Bekazulu, one of the sons of Usirajo, was wrongly accused, as he was not one of the party who came into Natal territory, but was at Umhlan-den-Hlova with the king at the time, he is accordingly exempted from this demand; but the others now demanded must be sent in and delivered over to the Natal authorities within twenty days from the date that this demand is made. The Zulu king is required, in addition, to pay to the British government a fine of five hundred cattle for the outrage, and for his delay in complying with the request of the Natal government. These cattle must also be sent in within the period above named.

There has also been another offence committed by Zulu subjects on the persons of British subjects at the middle drift on the Tugela River, below Fort Buckingham. These two British subjects, Messrs. Smith and Deighton, were whilst at or near the drift, in the month of September last, surrounded by a party of fifteen Zulus, who, armed with guns and assagais, in an excited state took hold of the two white men and made them sit down, demanding what they were doing there, as the ground belonged to Kechwayo. Gradually the Zulus became more quiet, and, after detaining the two white men for an hour and a half, or thereabouts, they allowed them to go. This interference with and treatment of two British subjects were an interference and treatment which were unwarrantable. It was an offence against the persons of two British subjects, which cannot be passed over without notice, and as a punishment for the offence, and a warning against the commission of similar offences in the future, the high commissioner requires that a fine of one hundred head of cattle shall be paid to the British government. This fine also must be paid within the period of twenty days from the date of this communication being made.

The two cases referred to have been cases of offence—one of them of a most serious and outrageous nature—committed by individual Zulu subjects in British territory, or against the persons of British subjects, for which it has been necessary to demand that reparation shall be made in the manner above stated.

There is also the case of Umbeline, a Swazi refugee living in

the Zulu country, who is charged with having recently made a murderous raid into the country north of the Pongolo, which is claimed as British territory by the Transvaal government. It will be necessary for the offenders in this case to be given up to be tried by the Transvaal courts for the offence for which they are accused ; and a further communication will be made to Kechwayo when the Transvaal government has stated who, besides Umbeleline, must be given up to be tried.

But, beyond these matters, which relate to certain offences committed by certain Zulu subjects against the British government, the attention of her Majesty's high commissioner has, of necessity, been given to the state of government and the state of affairs in the Zulu country, both as affecting the condition of the Zulu people, and the peace and safety of the Queen's dominions lying adjacent to Zululand, and of other tribes and peoples, the allies or friendly neighbours of the British government.

In the time of the late king Panda the relations between the English and the Zulus had always been of a friendly nature. The English government in Natal and the Zulus were near neighbours, and all the Zulu nation can bear witness that the English government never did anything unfriendly, or showed itself in any way otherwise than most friendly and well-disposed towards the Zulus. Panda, as it is well known, was established in the Zulu chieftainship by the Dutch emigrant farmers, who defeated the Zulu king Dingaan.

It was after this that the English came into Natal, and established relations with Panda and the Zulu nation.

Panda's reign was a more peaceful one than those of his predecessors, and his rule was milder and more tolerant. He encouraged trade. He allowed Christian Missionaries to settle in the land, and set aside stations for them, and gave them land ; and there was good promise of an improvement in the condition of the Zulu people.

Unhappily, during the latter part of his reign, and when he became old, trouble came upon the land, in consequence of the disputes between Kechwayo and his brothers as to who should be the successor of the king.

Panda had always behaved in a loyal and friendly manner to the British government, and when, on account of the continued

excitement and uneasiness in the Zulu country, he asked the government in Natal to interfere, the government sent Mr. Shepstone, the then secretary for native affairs, to recommend Panda to nominate a successor, and so remove the uncertainty on that point, and the cause of dispute among the brothers. The result was the nomination of the house of Kechwayo, which, settling the question of succession, gave quiet again to the Zulu country.

After the death of Panda, the sons of the late king, and the headmen of the Zulu nation assembled, and sent messengers to the Governor of Natal, saying that the nation found itself wandering because of the death of its king. There was no king, they said, and the messengers brought from the nation four oxen, representing the 'head of the king,' to the government of Natal. They further asked that Mr. Shepstone, who had been present at the nomination of Kechwayo, might go and establish what was wanted, and at the same time breathe the spirit by which the nation should be governed. They said, moreover, it was the will of the nation that the new king should be the son of the British government.

The government of Natal had no wish to mix itself up with these arrangements of the Zulu people; but, eventually, it consented, and sent Mr. Shepstone to take part in the installation. It was the wish of Kechwayo that this should be done; it was the wish of the whole Zulu nation. In consenting to this the British government had no selfish object of any kind. It did not seek to obtain a single foot of land for itself, and it demanded nothing for itself, nor any advantage, nor any privilege whatsoever. Its only motive in complying with the wish of the Zulu nation, and in taking part in the coronation of the new king, was that, in doing so, it might help to assure the peace of the Zulu country, and promote, in some degree, the welfare of the Zulu people.

In taking part, therefore, the only conditions it made were in favour of the good government of the people. At a formal meeting, held previous to the installation, between Mr. Shepstone and Kechwayo and the headmen of the Zulu nation, several matters were discussed, chief among which were certain regulations or laws for the better government of the Zulu people, which were to be proclaimed on the occasion of the installation. Sub-

sequently, on the day of the installation, these laws were formally proclaimed by Mr. Shepstone.

It was proclaimed :

- (1.) That the indiscriminate shedding of blood should cease in the land ;
- (2.) That no Zulu should be condemned without open trial, and the public examination of witnesses, for and against, and that he should have a right of appeal to the king ;
- (3.) That no Zulu's life should be taken without the previous knowledge and consent of the king, after such trial had taken place, and the right of appeal had been allowed to be exercised ;
- (4.) That for minor crimes, the loss of property, all, or a portion, should be substituted for the punishment of death.

Now these laws were formally proclaimed by Mr. Shepstone, who represented the British government in Natal, and proclaimed with the formal assent of Kechwayo, of the chief men of the nation, and of the nation there assembled. It was not done as a mere idle ceremony or form, without any meaning or intention. It was not done in secret, but in public. It was not done in the dark, but in the open day. It was not done in a solitude, but at the royal kraal, in the presence and hearing of the king, the chiefs, and the assembled people. They were laws for the good government of the Zulu people. The subject of them had been carefully and deliberately discussed beforehand between the British representatives and Kechwayo and his councillors, and agreed upon, and then, afterwards, in the hearing and the presence of the people, the laws had been solemnly affirmed.

These laws, for the well-being of the Zulu people, were the conditions required by the British government in return for the countenance and support given by it to the new Zulu king by the presence of its representative, and by his taking part in the king's coronation ; and, once spoken as they were, they cannot be broken without compromising the dignity, the good faith, and the honour of the British government.

The British government now asks, How has it been in this matter? Have the promises then made been kept? Have the laws which were then proclaimed been observed? Let the Zulu king answer! Let the chief men of the nation answer! Let the whole Zulu people answer!

There is but one answer. The king and people know very well that the promises have not been kept, they know that these laws have not been observed, but that they are almost daily broken in the Zulu country. They know very well that the lives of hundreds of Zulu people—men and women, young and old—have been taken since that day without any trial at all; that the indiscriminate shedding of blood has not ceased, but that the killing of Zulu people has gone on as if no promise had ever been made, and no law ever proclaimed.

Hence it is that all Zulus live in fear to lose their lives on any day. No man knows when he may be suddenly set upon and killed, and all belonging to him destroyed or taken away.

How can these things be? Were the words which were spoken at the coronation mere empty words, meaning nothing? The Zulu king knows that it is not so, and that it cannot be so. The British government in Natal did not want, it did not ask, to take any part in the installation of Panda's successor. It wished well to the Zulu country and to the Zulu people; but for itself, it wished for nothing, and it asked for nothing. It was Kechwayo himself, it was the Zulu nation assembled together, that sent to the government to ask it to take part. Even then the government did not desire to take part in what was being done; but it consented to do so, asking nothing for itself, but asking certain conditions for the good of the Zulu people.

The conditions which it asked were conditions for the protection of the lives of the Zulu people—that they might not be condemned and slain without trial, without knowing what their offence was, without cause, and without chance of justice. These were the conditions made—these were the laws proclaimed.

The British government cannot, then, allow that the words which were once spoken on its part should be empty words, or that the promises made to it, and for which it became the mouth-piece and the guarantee to the whole Zulu nation, should be treated as if they were mere idleness and empty sound; but

for five years they have been so treated, and now it can be no longer so.

The promises have not been kept ; and how is it possible they can be kept, so long as the present system of government is maintained by the king ?

The present system of government is destroying the country. All the young men, all the able-bodied men of the country, are taken as soldiers. They are taken from their homes, at an age when they are becoming useful to their parents, and are kept for several years in the compulsory service of the king. They are not allowed to marry as the men of other tribes around them, as in Natal, as among the Amaswazi, as among the Amaponda. They cannot marry when they desire to do so, but they must await the permission of the king, and they are kept often for many years without permission to do so. They are not allowed to labour for themselves, or to plant, or to reap, or to live in quiet and in peace, with their families and relatives. They are constantly summoned up to the king's kraals, as if for war, although there is no enemy to fight with ; and thus they come to fight amongst themselves, and blood is shed, and there is distress and mourning in the land ; or they are sent out in parties to surround the kraals of persons who have given offence to the king, or who are accused by private enemies, and who then, without trial and without a word, are killed, their kraals laid desolate, and their families and all that they have carried off or destroyed.

Thus the army is made an instrument, not for the defence of the country, but for the oppression of the people. All the best interests of the Zulu country and the happiness of the Zulu people are sacrificed in order that the king may keep up his large army. For what purpose is this army kept up ? Is there an enemy ? Where is the enemy ? Kechwayo knows very well that there is no enemy, and that there is no occasion for this large army. In the days of Chaka or of Dingaan it might be different ; but now on all sides of the Zulu country is the territory of the British government, or of its allies and friendly neighbours. The king knows very well that the British government is a peaceful and friendly power ; that it wishes well to the Zulu people ; that it wishes them to live in peace and comfort. The king knows this well ; for did not his father live to become an old man under the

shelter of the British government? and has not Kechwayo himself grown up to manhood under the eye of the English?

With regard to the neighbouring native tribes, the Basutos, the Amaponda, the Amaswazi, and others, they are either the subjects or the allies or neighbours of the British government, and the Zulu king knows that he has nothing to fear from them. They are, besides, peaceful people, and not given to aggression and war.

For what purpose, then, does the Zulu king keep up this large army, which brings so much hardship and so much misery upon the Zulu people themselves? It can serve no good purpose. It can be made of no use except it be used for the oppression of the Zulu people, or for aggression upon British subjects, or the allies and neighbours of the British government. There is, therefore, no real need for the army. The present system is working the destruction of the Zulu people. The army is used against the very people of the country to which it belongs. It is the strength of the nation destroying the nation itself. Let the nation say if this is not so!

Besides, whilst the king keeps up this army, whilst he is constantly calling it together, it is impossible for his neighbours to feel secure. They never know what may happen; and the British government is obliged to keep large numbers of the Queen's troops in Natal and the Transvaal in order to protect British subjects against the dangers of a possible aggression by the Zulu king.

This state of things cannot last. It is dangerous to the peace of all the countries adjoining Zululand, and it is hurtful to the Zulu people themselves.

The British government cannot allow it to continue. It has become absolutely necessary that some change should be made.

It is necessary that the military system which is at present kept up by the king should be done away with, as a bad and hurtful one; and that the king should, instead, adopt such military regulations as may be decided on, after consultation with the great council of the Zulus, and with the representatives of the British government.

It is necessary that the Zulu army, as it now is, shall be disbanded, and that the men shall return to their homes.

Let the obligation on every able-bodied man to come out for the defence of his country, when it is needed, remain ; but until then let it be that every man shall live, if he pleases, quietly at his own home.

Let every man then be free to remain at his home, and let him plant and sow and reap, and tend his cattle, and let him live in peace, and with his family.

Let him not be called out for war, or for fighting, or for assembling in regiments, except with the previous assent of the great council of the nation assembled, and with the consent, also, of the British government.

Let every man, when he comes to man's estate, be free to marry. Let him not wait for years till he gets permission to do this, for oftentimes the king forgets to give the permission, and the years pass, and the men become old ; but let him be free to marry when he pleases, as it is in Natal.

So will the king have contented subjects.

Then with respect to the promises made at the coronation ; let rules at once be laid down so that any Zulu man or woman, old or young, who is accused of any crime, be tried by properly appointed indunas, before punishment ; that no one may be punished without cause, and that the life of no one be taken until the offence of which he is accused be heard openly against him, and an answer given by him in defence, in order that those by whom he is tried may say whether he is guilty or not, before he is punished ; and, if any one is declared to be guilty, then let him not be killed until the king has given his consent, and until the person guilty has been able to make appeal to the king.

Thus it was promised it should be, at the time of the coronation ; but the promises have not been kept.

But in future it will be necessary that the promises be kept, for the British government holds itself bound to see that this is so ; and in order that they may be kept, and that the laws regarding them may be duly carried out, the Queen's high commissioner, on behalf of the British government, will appoint an officer, as his deputy, to reside in Zulu country, or on its immediate border, who will be the eyes and ears and mouth of the British government towards the Zulu king and the great council of the nation.

What words the king or the council of the nation desires to say to the British government can then be said through this officer, as also what words the British government may desire to say to the king or the great council can be said through him ; so that all misunderstandings and questions that arise between the two countries, or between the subjects of the two countries, may be dealt with and settled through this one officer speaking with the king and the great council.

This officer will see that the rules regarding the trial of all Zulus before punishment are kept, and that no man is killed without trial, but that all men may have an opportunity of answering the accusations brought against them, and, if need be, of appealing to the king.

He will see, also, that the arrangements to be made regarding the army are carried out ; that no one is called out for war without necessity ; that all men are allowed to live at their homes in peace ; and that every man will be free to marry. So will it be well with the Zulu people.

The late king Panda allowed several European Missionaries to settle in Zululand. Kechwayo, also, allowed them to stay in the country ; but, during the last two years, some of the natives living on the mission stations were killed without trial, or form of trial, and others were terrified ; and thus the Missionaries have, most of them, been obliged to abandon their stations ; and the high commissioner desires that all those Missionaries who, until last year, lived in the Zulu country and occupied stations, as also the natives belonging to their stations, be allowed to return and re-occupy their stations. He desires, also, that all Missionaries be allowed to teach as in Panda's time, and that no Zulu shall be punished for listening to them. If any Zulu wishes, of his own choice, to listen to the Missionary, he is to be free to do so. If any native living on a Mission station does wrong, he will be liable to punishment, but he must be tried first.

If any case of dispute occurs, in which any one of the Missionaries, or in which any European is concerned, such dispute shall be heard by the king in public, and in presence of the British resident ; and no sentence of expulsion from Zululand shall be carried out until it has been communicated by the king to the resident, and until it has been approved by the resident.

These are the words of her Majesty's high commissioner, which the lieutenant-governor of Natal sends to the Zulu king and the chief men of the nation, and for the whole Zulu nation.

Let the king and the chief men of the nation now listen to these words and consider them, and let them make answer regarding them.

These are the conditions which her Majesty's high commissioner, in the name of the British government, considers necessary for the establishment of a satisfactory state of things in the Zulu country, and for the peace and safety of the adjoining countries. Let, therefore, the king and the chief men of the nation consider them, and let them give their answer regarding them within thirty days from the day on which this communication is made to the Zulu representatives, in order that her Majesty's high commissioner may then know if the king and the great councils agree to the words which are here given, and will give effect to these conditions, which are necessary both for the peace and safety of the Queen's subjects and allies, and also for the safety and the welfare of the Zulu people, to which the Queen's government wishes well.

HENRY BULWER,

Lieutenant-governor.

This is a very able and elaborate document, entering lengthily into explanations, reasons, &c., so as to cover and soften the fatal blow as much as possible; but these astute Amazulu lawyers saw at once that it was the death-blow to their national independence. 'After the first award had been delivered, a sense of relief was manifest on the countenances of the deputies. But when the ultimatum was interpreted, a change then passed over the Zulu faces, those faces got longer and longer.' The difficulties connected with the land affairs and Usirajo and Umbeline were got over; 'but the stipulations in regard to military disbandment, covering, as they do, the permission to marry, were

deemed to be a serious interference with the sovereign's prerogative, one which would require more than a month to consider.' 'Why should they not be allowed to keep up an army when the English government kept up one on their side?' The commissioners, however, stated in reply, with solemn emphasis, 'These were the last words of the government, and these would be abided by.'

The last clause of the following paragraph was quite correct as to the momentous issues of this meeting: 'Messrs. Brownlee, Shepstone, and Fynn, returned to town yesterday, and proceeded to Maritzburg during the afternoon. The Hon. W. Littleton, private secretary to the high commissioner, and the Hon. Mr. Minto, were, we understand, present at the interview, than which one fraught with more momentous issues to South Africa has never been held.' The slaughter of Isandhlwana will confirm this prophetic statement.

The following are the two replies to the ultimatum, one relating to a first demand, the other to the final ultimatum:

Reply of Kechwazo, king of the Zulus, to a message from his Excellency the Lieutenant-governor of Natal, conveyed by Ulijile and Umhlana:

'You will convey my thanks to his excellency the Lieutenant-governor of Natal for the kind words he has sent me by you.

'I am not aware that I have ever done anything which would be thought wrong by or contrary to the wishes of the Natal government.

'The English nation is a just and peace-loving one, and I look upon the English people as my fathers. I shall not do anything outside their government.

'I cannot understand though, now I am a king, that from the time the Zulus became a nation it has been the custom or

law to wash spears after the death of a king, and I have not washed mine.'

Kechwayo could not see us till a fortnight after our arrival, but showed us great kindness, giving us a beast to kill, and presented us with three head of cattle each.

We heard that the king was causing some of the Zulus to be killed on account of disobeying his orders respecting the marriage of girls, and we saw large numbers of cattle which had been taken as fines ; otherwise the land was quiet.

Taken before me.

(Signed) FRED. B. FINNEY,

Interpreter of the Natal government.

In the following month (November 2nd) Kechwayo indignantly denies that he had ever made the promise imputed to him, and asserts his independence.

The king said in reply : 'Did I ever tell Mr. Shepstone I would not kill ? Did he tell the white people I made such an arrangement ? Because if he did he has deceived them. I do kill ; but do not consider I have done anything yet in the way of killing. Why do the white people start at nothing ? I have not yet begun ; I have yet to kill. It is the custom of our nation, and I shall not depart from it.

'Why does the governor of Natal speak to me about my laws ? Do I go to Natal and dictate to him about his laws ? I shall not agree to any laws or rules from Natal, and by so doing throw the large kraal which I govern into the water. My people will not listen unless they are killed ; and while wishing to be friends with the English, I do not agree to give my people over to be governed by laws sent to me by them.

'Have I not asked the English to allow me to wash my spears since the death of my father Umpanda, and they have kept playing with me all this time, treating me like a child ? Go back, and tell the English that I shall now act on my own account, and if they wish me to agree to their laws, I shall leave and become a wanderer ; but before I go *it will be seen, as I shall not go without having acted.*

‘Go back and tell the white men this, and let them hear it well. The Governor of Natal and I are equal; he is governor of Natal, and I am governor here.’

The difference between these two answers is very apparent. The probability is that others besides men with black skins had to do with the latter. This left the governor no alternative but war; he delayed the commencement of hostilities for a short time until his preparations were complete.

The map No. II. will show the scene of operations. The preparations were on a large scale; the following was the disposition of the divisions of the invading army :

THE special war correspondent of the *Witness*, writing from headquarters, Helpinakaar, says: Our forces are divided into four columns, numbering one to four. The first is under the command of Colonel Pearson, the Buffs, and is stationed at the Lower Tugela Drift, its base being D’Urban with Stanger as an advanced dépôt. It consists of eight companies of the Buffs, six companies of the 99th regiment, one company Royal Engineers with the bridge material, two 7-pounder guns drawn by mules, under Lieutenant Lloyd, R.A., which form a portion of Major Tremlett’s battery, the remainder of which is with column No. 4, one company of native pioneers, the 2nd squadron of the Imperial Mounted Infantry, with the D’Urban Mounted Rifles, the Alexandra Mounted Rifles, and the Stanger Mounted Rifles, all under the command of Captain Barrow, 19th Hussars, and the 3rd regiment Natal Native Contingent, consisting of two battalions under Major Graves, the Buffs. This column thus consists of about 1,500 regulars, 150 mounted volunteers, and 2,000 natives, without counting two companies of the 99th, one of which will remain at D’Urban, the base, and the other at the dépôt at Stanger.

No. 2 column is that under the command of Colonel Durnford, R.E., is stationed at Fort Buckingham, and has Greytown as its dépôt. It consists of the 1st regiment Natal Native Contingent,

three battalions strong, two rocket tubes under Lieutenant Russell, R.A., and 250 mounted natives. In all about 3,300 natives, commanded by 200 whites.

No. 3 column is under the command of Colonel Glyn, C.B., 24th regiment, is stationed at Helpmakaar, having Pietermaritzburg for its base, with Ladysmith on the main road, and Greytown on the border road as principal depôts. It consists of seven companies of the 1-24th regiment, four of which are here, one at Greytown, one at Pietermaritzburg, and one lately at D'Urban, all of which are to be pushed forward at once without waiting for their reliefs; the remaining company of the 1-24th is at St. John's, where it will remain; eight companies of the 2-24th, four of which are here, three expected to-night, and one to-morrow; one battery of Artillery, six 7-pounder guns, with light Kaffrarian carriages, horsed, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Harness, and expected this afternoon; one squadron Imperial Mounted Infantry, under Captain Browne, the Natal Mounted Police, mustering some 130 men, the Natal Carbineers, about 70 strong, the Buffalo Border Guard, the Newcastle Rifles, all under the command of Major Russell, 12th Lancers; the 2nd regiment of the Natal Native Contingent, under Commandant Lonsdale, consisting of two battalions and one company native pioneers. This column, then, not counting one company Royal Engineers by this time probably on its way up, numbers about 1,650 regulars, over 250 mounted volunteers, and some 2,000 natives, commanded by 200 whites.

No. 4 column is commanded by Colonel Wood, V.C., C.B., is at present on the Blood River, probably somewhere near Conference Hill, having Utrecht for its base, and Derby, held by two companies of the 80th, in its rear. It consists of the whole of the 90th L.I. and the 13th L.I., four 7-pounders under Major Tremlett, R.A., and two guns under Lieutenant Nicholson, R.A., the Frontier Light Horse, under Major Buller, over 200 strong, and being raised to 300, if possible. Colonel Wood had authority to raise natives, and there is some reason to believe that a battalion of 1,000 has been got together under Mr. Henderson. What number of the Dutch will turn out on the 7th, the day on which they are ordered out, cannot be at present foretold, but it is likely they will be more willing to render their assistance

than was at first supposed after the promulgation of the award. The Swazis are not likely to remain quiet once they see that we have commenced the war, so that, although Colonel Wood has not more than 1,600 regulars, and 200 mounted volunteers, who can be at present enumerated with certainty, he will probably have a considerably larger force under his command, or acting in unison with him.

Such are the numbers and formation of the four columns of which the army of invasion consists, and, without touching on the reserve or the subject of colonial defence, of which I will speak in a future letter, I will pass on to the present positions occupied by the enemy, so far as I am aware of them. Opposing No. 1 column are, I believe, the Akobamakosi and Umcity regiments, consisting of young, hot-headed men, and mustering about 12,000 men. Opposite Colonel Durnford, at Fort Buckingham, Nkandhla Bush. while their communications with the lower force are easy and rapid, are the Udududu, Mkanke, and Umbonambi regiments, numbering some 5,000 men; while occupying the broken country opposite Rorke's Drift are, there is reason to believe, a strong force under the command of Usirajo. The Udhloko and Ndhlonhlo regiments are, I believe, in Northern Zululand, but whether they will act against Colonel Wood's column, or against this one, is at present doubtful. Nothing can be better or more in accordance with our wishes than that the Zulus should oppose each of our columns, as it seems they intend to do. They also talk of making a counter-attack on Natal the moment we cross the boundary river.

Events of grave magnitude now crowd on apace until the dark day of many slain under the shadow of Isandhlwana's mountain arrives. The tragic scenes of that day are thus recorded by one who was personally engaged in the bloody conflict :

ON the 22nd January a portion of Colonel Durnford's native contingent was encamped about a mile in Zululand, having crossed the Buffalo River, at Rorke's Drift, on the night of the 20th. It consisted of five troops of mounted men, a rocket battery under Captain Russell, R.A., and two companies 1st battalion

native contingent, as escort to the rocket battery. They had had a hurried march up from a little way on the Helpmakaar side of Greytown; the 2nd battalion native contingent under Major Bengough, 77th regiment, was left at Sand Spruit; the 1st and 3rd battalion under Captain Cherry, 32nd Light Infantry, at Krauskop. On the morning of the 22nd Colonel Durnford started off to command the Dutchmen's waggons for active service. He had only got about a mile when a special orderly from the camp brought him word that a large Zulu army had been seen about eight miles from the headquarters' camp at Isandhlwana, in Zululand. The general intended attacking the army at daybreak, and we were to proceed with all despatch to camp, which was about twelve miles distant, on the other side of a mountain called Isandhlwana. We reached the camp at about 10 a.m., and found Colonel Pulleine had been left there with about 250 of Lonsdale's contingent, who were sent out on piquet duty, two guns (7-pounders) of Harness' battery under Major Smith and Lieutenant Curling, R.A., and five companies 1-24th, and one company 2-24th, both bands, staff, and idlers, and a few mounted men also being left in camp. Colonel Durnford, being senior to Colonel Pulleine, took over command, and received the state of troops as above, and instructions, which were 'to defend the camp.' The news was that, on the 21st, Lonsdale's contingent, with the exception of 250 men, and the mounted infantry, had gone out on a patrol. They saw an *impi*, and reported it to the general, upon which the general took out 2-24th and four guns, on the 22nd, to attack the *impi*.

About 8 or 9 a.m. the enemy showed themselves on the tops of the hills around, sometimes about a hundred at a time, sometimes less. On arriving at the camp, we found Colonel Pulleine had made the following preparations: 24th falling, guns in position, bullocks, mules, &c., inspanned in their respective vehicles, frequent communication being kept up with the outposts and patrol, various reports kept coming in. The enemy were reported to be in three columns, numbers not known; then that the enemy were retiring in all directions. Colonel Durnford said, 'Oh, they are retiring, are they?' and immediately sent two troops of mounted natives on to the hills surrounding the position, and took with him two troops of the rocket battery and one company native infantry, the remainder of the native

contingent being baggage guard. He asked Colonel Pulleine to let him have two companies of the 24th, but to this the colonel objected, saying that his orders were 'to defend the camp.' However, after some altercation, Colonel Durnford started without any detachment of the 24th. We went at a canter for about five miles towards the hills already referred to: the rocket-battery and the footmen, which were going at a foot-pace, of course being left behind. When we got near the hills an orderly came down and said the enemy were in force at the back of them. He had hardly breathed the words when the Zulus came over at the front of us in thousands, and dense crowds of skirmishers. They also appeared towards our left. There were several watercourses intersecting the plain between us and the camp, and to the first of these we retired, exchanging and returning the fire of the Zulus, which was opened on us at about 700 yards. We retired steadily for about two miles, firing, the Zulus firing from the left. We then came upon the remains of the rocket battery and infantry, which had been cut up. Leaving the enemy on a hill immediately to our true left, Russell fired three rockets at them, but a volley in return startled the mules as well as the native infantry, and caused some confusion, and it was about this time that Russell was killed. We drove back the enemy on our left with our left troop by wheeling up, while the right troop gradually retired, and at the sluic nearest to the camp we were reinforced by about 40 mounted men. This position was held for some little time.

While this was going on, the two troops on the hills and the left gradually fell back, and the artillery and 24th kept up a continuous fire on the enemy, who had now covered the hills as well as the plains in front, numbering in all between 15,000 or 16,000, and extending in length upwards of five miles. The Zulus moved steadily on, and never slackened their pace, and no amount of casualties seemed to affect their determination to take the camp. The position now taken up was as follows: Two guns were on the extreme left, four companies 24th at the left centre, two companies on the left with the mounted men in the watercourse in the front of the camp, extending towards the left. After about twenty minutes these positions were untenable, and a retreat from them was made. The artillery moved along from

left to right, and tried to make for the road to Rorke's Drift, while the 24th endeavoured to fall back upon the hill on the extreme right. The guns got a little way on the road, but were cut off by the Zulus, who by this time had reached the road in our rear. They (the guns) then struck off the road into the veldt, but came to grief in a watercourse, and were abandoned, nearly all the artillerymen, including Major Smith, being killed. About this time the Zulus were all amongst the 24th, stabbing them with their assagais. A few, however, of the mounted men escaped; they ran the gauntlet for five miles, being fired at the whole way, with men being assagaied right and left. The route was over a country which might be called impassable, and how any horses managed to travel it is a marvel to every one. They got down to the Buffalo River by slipping down slopes which are almost precipices, and here was another danger—the river was high, and there was a bad drift: Numbers of horses and men were drowned, but those who managed to mount the steep bank on the opposite side were safe. A ride of ten or twelve miles brought the survivors to Helpmakaar, where thirty-seven of us formed a laager with waggons, and prepared for an attack. In the meantime the reserve of the Zulu *impi*, 3,000 strong, marched straight through the camp to Rorke's Drift, where the commissariat stores were protected by a company of the 2-24th. The attack commenced at 5 p.m., and lasted till 8 p.m., although the Zulus remained in the neighbourhood till dawn. There were two buildings, one for stores, the other for hospital. Hearing of the Zulu success, the fellows there set to work to prepare for an attack, and joined the two houses together with a breastwork of mealie sacks, their strength being eighty all told, besides sick men. They made a most gallant defence; the Zulus set fire to the hospital, and killed two invalids, but could not drive the gallant little band out of the store. We lost thirteen all told, three having since died of their wounds. The Zulus left on the ground, close to the house, 350 slain, and carried away great numbers of their dead.

In the meantime, on the afternoon of the 22nd, about two hundred and fifty of the 24th and 13th light infantry, who had marched up from Maritzburg, left Helpmakaar for Rorke's Drift, but on the way down met refugees, who stated the whole of the

men at the store had been massacred and the place burnt down, and that the Zulus were marching upon Helpmakaar. The troops returned at once and reinforced our laager. As it turned out, it was as well they returned, for it might have been very serious, as in the dark and in the open the Zulus would probably have overpowered them by numbers.

Of course, directly the enemy were seen at Isandhlwana camp, a messenger was sent to the general, who eventually returned,—and fancy the spectacle before him! No camp, the tents being destroyed, a few Zulus to be seen, and no living red-coats! They fired about a dozen shells and a few volleys, and extended, and moved into the site with a cheer, but without opposition. It was now quite dark, and they bivouacked, and at dawn on the 23rd they marched to Rorke's Drift, and crossed over the river by means of the pont, which, remarkable to relate, was intact. The Isandhlwana camp was a terrible sight; oxen, mules, and horses were lying thick on the ground, together with over 1,000 Europeans and natives who had fallen victims to the assagai and bullet. The Zulus had carried off as many oxen and waggons and as much ammunition and stores as possible, the empty waggons being used, it is said, to carry off their dead. About 130 waggons and 2,500 oxen fell into the enemy's hands, as well as large stores of provisions, ammunition, specie, &c., the value of our losses being estimated at £100,000. During the march of the column from Isandhlwana to Rorke's Drift they saw the *impi* on the hills and expected momentarily to be attacked. They also saw about 2,500 men returning from the attack on the store.

The 24th suffered fearfully, losing twenty officers, 600 men, three colours, the colours of the 1-24th regiment having been left at Helpmakaar, and all their staff-sergeants and idlers. Coghill and Melville tried to get away with one colour, but it appears that Melville, who was carrying it, got washed down the river. Coghill rode in to rescue him, but his horse was shot in the river; they both got out, and were shot going up the other side. Their bodies were recovered on the January 31st, not mutilated at all, curious to relate. The brutes of Zulus, of course, gave no quarter, and wreaked their fury upon all they found in the camp. They killed all horses they came across, as it appears they do not care about riding. Every one belonging to the headquarters

column that was in Zululand is destitute of all clothing and property. The total force engaged on our side was 680 whites and 750 blacks, of whom 600 whites and 500 blacks were killed. The force on the Zulu side is estimated at 15,000, of whom 2,500 are said to have been killed, besides at least 500 at Rorke's Drift.

Account of a native who was in the battle, taken from the *Natal Mercury* :

THE following is the substance of a conversation which took place a few days ago between one of our Missionaries and a native on his station, who came to him to have a wound bound up. The fight in which he took part was that of Isandhlwana. He further entirely confirms the statement that on the occasion the Zulus used their own dead as shields, throwing them on the bayonets of the regulars : 'How do you do, Udhlolwane ?' 'Very well, teacher, but the spear wound in my right foot pains me ; I need some medicine.' 'Who speared you ?' 'A Zulu, teacher ; but I finished him.' 'What with ?' 'My gun, teacher.' 'You had a gun, then ; who gave it you ?' 'My white man, teacher.' 'What was his name ?' 'Doherty.' 'Were you his servant ?' 'Yes, teacher.' 'What work did you perform for him ?' 'I was his cook.' 'Tell me all about the fight. Were any white men engaged in it ?' 'Yes, teacher, and some black, also, Amakolwe (Christian natives), and others ; but the Zulus were far the most numerous.' 'Did you attack them first ?' 'Yes ; the soldiers did, but I stopped with the waggons.' 'And did the Zulus come to the waggons ?' 'Yes, teacher ; I am sorry to say they did.' 'And why did you not defend them ?' 'We did, teacher, so long as we could, but they were too many for us.' 'How did they appear ?' 'They came towards us like the big ocean waves, teacher ?' 'Were any of the Zulus killed ?' 'Yes ; great heaps of them were cut down, but they did not mind it at all. They filled up the gaps, and they fought with spears as well as guns.' 'How did you manage to get away ?' 'I killed as many as I could with my gun, and then used my spear, but it glided off the shield of a Zulu, and I saw he would kill me if I did not run, so I took to my heels.' 'But how could you run with such a wound ?' 'I don't know, teacher, but I did, and my wound did

not pain me till night-time. I hid in the bush till morning, and then found the waggon road, and a Missionary waggon passing by. I was taken in, and brought half way to Pietermaritzburg.' (Probably Rev. Otto de Witt's waggon.) 'When you get well, what will you do, Udhlolwane?' 'Go back, and kill more Zulus. I shall keep the gun for that purpose.' 'Udhlolwane, if there had been a few more white and black soldiers in your party, could you have beaten the Zulus?' 'Yes, teacher; I am sure we should have done so.'

The reader will like to see some version of how things were conducted on the part of the Amazulu. The following is characteristic, and is taken from the *Witness* :

WE are indebted to our special war correspondent for the following report, made by a deserter from the Zulu army, with regard to the affair at Isandhlwana :

The Zulu army, consisting of the Undi corps, about 3,000 strong, the Nokenke regiment, 2,000 strong, the Nkobamakosi regiment, including the Uve, about 5,000 strong, the Umcityu, about 4,000 strong, the Nodwengu corps, 2,000 strong, the Umbonambi, 3,000 strong, and the Udhloko, about 1,000 strong, or a total of about 20,000 men in all, left the great military kraal of Nodwengu on the afternoon of January 17th. It was first addressed by the king, who said : 'I am sending you out against the whites, who have invaded Zululand, and driven away our cattle. You are to go against the column at Rorke's Drift, and drive it back into Natal, and if the state of the river will allow, follow it up through Natal, right up to the Drakensberg. You will attack it by daylight, as there are enough of you to "cat it up," and you will march slowly, so as not to tire yourselves.'

We accordingly left Nodwengu late in the afternoon, and marched in column to the west bank of the White Umfocosi, about six miles distant, where we bivouaced for the night. Next day we marched to the Isixepi military kraal, about nine miles off, where we slept ; and on the 19th we ascended on the tableland near the Isihlungu hills, a march of about equal duration with that of the day previous. On this day the army, which had

hitherto been marching in single column, divided into two, marching parallel to and within sight of each other. That on the left consisting of Nokenke, Umcityu, and Nodwengu regiments, under the command of Tyiugwayo; the other commanded by Umvumingwana. There were a few mounted men belonging to the chief Usirajo, who were made use of as scouts. On the 20th we moved across the open country, and slept by the Isipezi Hill. We saw a body of mounted white men on this day to our left. [A strong reconuissance was made on the 20th to the west of the Isipezi Hill, which was probably the force here indicated.]

On the 21st, keeping away to the eastward, we occupied a valley running north and south under the spurs of the Nqutu Hill, which concealed the Isandhlwana Hill, distant from us about four miles, and nearly due west of our encampment. We had been well fed during the whole march, our scouts driving in herds of cattle and goats, and on this evening we lit our camp fires as usual. Our scouts also reported to us that they had seen the videttes of the English force at sunset, on some hills west-south-west of us. [Lord Chelmsford, with some of his staff, rode up in this direction, and about this time, and saw some of the mounted enemy.]

Our order of encampment on the 21st January was as follows: On the extreme right were the Nodwengu, Nokenke, and Umcityu; the centre was formed of the Nkobamakosi and Mbonambi; and the left of the Undi corps and the Udhloko regiment. On the morning of the 22nd January there was no intention whatever of making any attack, on account of a superstition regarding the state of the moon, and we were sitting resting, when firing was heard to our right (the narrator was in the Nokenke regiment), which we at first imagined was the Nkobamakosi engaged, and we armed and ran forward in the direction of the sound. We were, however, soon told it was the white troops fighting with Matyana's people some ten miles away to our left front, and returned to our original position. Just after we had sat down again a small herd of cattle came past our line from our right, being driven by some of our scouts, and just where they were opposite the Umcityu regiment a body of mounted men appeared on the hill to the west, galloping up, evidently trying to cut them off. When several hundred yards off they saw the

Umcityu dismounting, and fired one volley at them and then retired. The Umcityu at once jumped up and charged, an example which was taken up by the Nokenke and Nodwengu on their right, and the Nkobamakosi and Mbonambi on their left, while the Undi corps and the Udhloko formed a circle (as is customary in Zulu warfare) and remained where they were. With the latter were the two commanding officers, Umvumingwani and Tyingwayo, and several of the king's brothers, and after a short pause they bore away to the north-west, and keeping on the northern side of the Isandhlwana, performed a turning movement on the right, without any opposition from the whites, who, from the nature of the ground, could not see them. Thus the original Zulu left became their extreme right, while their right became their centre, and the centre the left. The two regiments which formed the latter, the Nkobamakosi and Mbonambi, made a turning movement along the front of the camp towards the English right; but became engaged long before they could accomplish it, and the two regiments and a battalion of the Nkobamakosi was repulsed, and had to retire until reinforced by the other battalion, while the Mbonambi suffered very severely from the artillery fire. Meanwhile, the centre, consisting of the Umcityu on the left, and the Nokenke and Nodwengu higher up to the right, under the hill, were making a direct attack on the left of the camp. The Umcityu suffered very severely both from artillery and musketry fire; the Nokenke from musketry fire alone, while the Nodwengu lost least. When we at last carried the camp our regiments became mixed up; a portion pursued the fugitives down the Buffalo, and the remainder plundered the camp, while the Undi and Udhloko regiments made the best of their way to Rorke's Drift to plunder the post there, in which they failed, and lost very heavily, after fighting all the afternoon and night. We stripped the dead in the camp of all their clothes, and plundered everything we could find, many of the men getting drunk, and then towards sunset we moved back to our halting ground of the night before, all the more quickly that we saw another white force approaching. Next morning the greater part of the men dispersed to their homes with their plunder, a few going to the king to report, and they have not re-assembled since.

The melancholy results of this fatal day were that

nearly 1,800 people on the side of the English were killed, besides some 100 waggons pillaged or destroyed, involving a loss of, it is said, £100,000. These saddening facts are recounted in a few words, but the loss, the suffering, and the hurrying of so many human beings into eternity in a few moments is truly appalling. It is affirmed that 15,000 or 20,000 Amazulu were engaged in this terrible battle, of whom 3,000 were killed; but it is impossible to state either with any approach to certainty. Before the war began I said everything will depend upon whether the Amazulu rely upon their guns in the fight; if they trust to their guns this will be fatal to them, but if they adopt their usual mode with the shield and short stabbing assagai, as described in my previous work, there is nothing that can stand before them in hand to hand fight; so it proved. It was the onslaught of the Amazulu 'to conquer or to die.'

Many and varied have been the critiques of the press and public upon the mismanagement of operations on this fatal day; without attempting to comment upon them personally, I may quote the following from the *Natal Mercury*, which is as fair and dispassionate as can well be conceived :

SOME of our Cape contemporaries express surprise at the 'reticence' of the Natal press in criticising the disaster at Isandhlwana. They seem to think that it was our duty, as local journalists, to form as swiftly as they have done, and upon data as slender as have contented them, a distinct and final judgment upon an affair that, even now, a month later, remains veiled in mystery. We say again, what we have said before, that however easy it may be for distant journalists, far removed from the scene of action or the range of its consequences, to form positive conclusions that must involve blame both to dead and living, regard-

ing responsibility for a great national catastrophe, we, who are on the spot, and still beset by conflicting statements and opinions, find it neither wise nor just nor expedient to hazard a hasty and, perhaps, a false verdict. It has been enough for us, so far, to collect what evidence has been accessible concerning the incidents of that fatal day, and to point out what have appeared to us the chief causes of disaster. So far as blame goes—if it applies to the living, the crushing sense of responsibility for such a calamity must be its own penalty; and if it applies to the dead, it is neither generous nor seemly to lay the lash of censure upon the freshly slain. From what has appeared already, and from the remarkable narrative we publish to-day, as taken down from the lips of an ingenuous youth, it is more than ever evident—(1) that the camp was not parked; (2) the force was scattered in clumps about the field; (3) the artillery did not do the service that might have been expected from two field guns; (4) the two officers in command had had a difference as to precedence and movements; (5) there was a lamentable lack of effective control, and no unity of action between the scattered parties; (6) the fight lasted up to past four o'clock, and our men resisted with the most bitter tenacity; (7) the enemy had been the night before only a few miles off, without our being aware of it; (8) the general's force was not more than ten miles distant when the fight commenced; (9) no attempt was made to follow up the enemy, to count, identify, and bury the slain, or to recover the waggons or guns. Lord Chelmsford, when addressing the 99th at Fort Pearson, on Tuesday last, is reported to have said that it was his firm conviction that the troops there would have been more than sufficient to have repulsed the attack of the 18,000 or 20,000 Zulus reported to have been there, if only they had been kept together, and had not lost their formation; and that therefore the loss of the five companies of the 1-24th, and one of the 2-24th—than which he said the Queen never possessed better or finer soldiers—was only attributable to that one fact, and also not having enough ammunition handy. We are not aware whether his excellency leaves it to be inferred that the scattering of the whole column, no less than of its rearward section, had contributed to the disaster which befell the latter.

Among the number of desperate deeds of valour

performed on this day of conflict and disaster, those of Lieutenant Coghill and Adjutant Melville must receive honourable mention. They had been entrusted with the colours of the regiment; they fought their way through their foes until they reached the swollen river, which they manfully struggled through, secured their position on the bank of supposed safety, when they were shot down, and it was supposed for a time the colours were lost, until they were found and recovered in the following manner :

THE *Times of Natal* has the following on the recovery of the bodies of Lieutenant Coghill and Adjutant Melville, 1-24th, as well as the colours of the 1-24th regiment, by Major Wilson Black, 2-24th regiment: We are informed on reliable authority that on the 4th of February, 1879, Major Wilson Black (accompanied by some officers of the Natal Native Contingent, names unknown) went out in search of the body of Adjutant Melville, who was reported to have had the colours of the 1-24th with him when last seen, trying to cross the Buffalo. About three hundred yards on the Natal side of the Buffalo River Major Black found the bodies of Adjutant Melville and Lieutenant Coghill, A.D.C., lying among some boulders, quite dead, where they had fallen. In the Buffalo River, some distance ahead (about three hundred yards), Major Black recovered the colours with the staff broken, in a very dilapidated condition. Major Black, 2-24th, had the bodies of the two late gallant officers, who had so nobly fallen, and had stuck to the colours, buried, and he obtained the services of a clergyman to read the burial service, and has, as well, marked the spot where these two noble officers lie side by side with a heap of the most suitable stones that could be procured. Major Black and his staff of N.N.C. officers then returned to Helpmakaar, and reached that place on the night of the 4th February.

On the morning of the 5th February a general parade was ordered, when the recovered colours were trooped in front of a general parade at Helpmakaar, when Colonel Glyn, C.B., in most touching and affecting terms addressed his men, and informed them that through the gallant and most praiseworthy efforts of

Till the last charge was spent ; and then,—‘cold steel’
Grew hot in Zulu life blood, and in heaps
Their dying foes lay round them. ’T was in vain !
Hundreds had strewn the ground before their fire ;
Yet, heedless of their fall, had *thousands* more
Recklessly trampled them in onward rush
And wild contempt of death.

As the surf breaks
And strews with spray the shore, wave urging wave,
Blind to its leader’s fate, the Zulu host
Rolls its dark waves,—*its* dead, as yet unmissed,
With thousands in reserve, to fill their place.

Man after man the British soldier falls,—
Falls where he stood,—his right arm’s strength exhausted,
And his *dead* foes hurled on his bayonet’s point,
To clear the way for others !

Pulleine saw
His own end near,—and gave his dying charge :
‘Preserve the COLOURS ! Let no savage hands
Stain the old honour of “the 24th.”
Come *death*,—if come it must,—but not disgrace !’

And Melville took the COLOUR,—*sacred trust* !
And bore it from the field. One farewell grasp,
One mutual gaze, and then they sadly part,
Comrades in arms, to meet on earth no more.
‘Men of the 24th, I stay with *you* ;—
We bide it to the end.’ A ringing cheer
Shows the old fire unquenched ; and though no hope
Of succour nerves their arm, they face the foe,
Till men and their commander sink together,
And join in death their comrades gone before.

* * * * *

The fight is done : the cannon’s boom is stilled ;
Stilled is the rocket’s rush, the rifle’s ring ;
The yell of onslaught, the defying cheer,
Wails of the wounded, and the dying groan,
Rise on the breeze no longer ; nor the shrieks
Of hapless followers of the camp, unarmed,
And slaughtered in their helplessness. The spoils

In savage triumph proudly borne away
 With battle song of victory, upraised
 By myriad voices 'mongst the echoing hills,
 Are passing from the scene. The hush of death
 Has settled all around ; and gloomy night
 Spreads her dark pall o'er the now silent field.

But where is Melville ? How shall *he* escape ?
 Miles must he traverse of a hostile land
 Ere he can safely place his sacred trust ;
 And, scattered far and wide in headlong flight,
 ' Native contingents ' from the field of death
 Urge their fear-stricken way with failing strength ;
 While ruthless foes, red-handed, strike them down
 On every side. ' Where ! where is *he* ? the guardian
 Of his dead regiment's honour ? ' Who shall say ?
 For, be it that he fights his way alone,
 Horsemen or footmen, through the host of foes,
 Or be it he evades their hot pursuit,
 There crosses still his path, and bars his way,
 The river boundary in sununer flood.
 The swirling waters as they rush and roar
 Mock at the wearied limbs that reached their banks,
 And care *no more*, although the foe is on them !
 Numbers die here ; numbers plunge in,—and drown.
 Dies Melville too ? Have any seen him fall ?
 Or has he dared the river with his charge ?
 Grasping the COLOUR, could he breast the flood ?
 Or is he swept away ? Alas ! none knows.

Explore the river ! search its wooded banks ;—
 Men, horses, arms, caught midst entangling branches,
 May yield *some* relic of the lost one,—

Ah !

Who lies *here* ? Melville ! And who lies *here* ?
 Coghill *with* Melville, side by side in *death* !
 Slain, though the raging flood was braved and conquered ;
 Slain, though escaped the hot pursuit beyond ;
 Slain in a mutual, last attempt to save
 From the wild waters *that*,—than LIFE more dear.
 Hard, hard the fate,—wrecked when the port was gained !

Shield we from vulture's greed the sad remains,
By hasty cairn, and breathe a hurried prayer,—
'Tis all we can,—till worthier rites be paid.
—But hark! that shout! 'The COLOUR! lo! the COLOUR!'
Snatched from the turbid waters, drenched and torn,
But SAVED! by friendly branches caught and held.
Hark how the glen resounds! Cheer after cheer;
And the wild rocks with rapturous echoes ring.

They are not '24th' men who have found
The prize and its dead guardians. What of that?
They share a soldier's sympathies, and feel
The joy of brother soldiers as their own.
Mark now the swift return, while, borne aloft,
The sacred emblem challenges from far
The eager outlook. Ha! 'tis seen! 'tis seen!
The quick-eyed sentinel has caught it, and
There bursts the shout exultant from his lips.
The spark electric sets the camp on fire:
'The COLOUR! lo! the COLOUR! HONOUR SAVED!'
Rush from all sides the eager throng to greet
And welcome, while with cheers the camp resounds.

And now once more in martial order stands
The remnant of the regiment, to receive
And place in its old shrine the rescued treasure.
A guard of honour from the reverent hands
Of those who bear it take the precious pledge,—
More precious for its perils,—and it rests
Dearer than ever in the regiment's heart.

Melville and Coghill! twins in death, your names
Belong to history! On fame's bright scroll
They stand already blazoned. Men from far
Shall visit as a shrine your hero grave;
And grey-haired veterans in after years
Shall tell their children how, long long ago
At Isandhlwana's deadly, woe-fraught fight
Ye saved the honour of 'the 24th,'
And DIED IN SAVING IT!

Rorke's Drift was the first rallying point at which the maddened Amazulu received a check. The record given of the manner in which this gallant defence was conducted is before the reader. 'In the meantime the reserve of the Zulu *impi* (army), 3,000 strong, marched straight through the camp to Rorke's Drift, where the commissariat stores were protected by a company of the 2-24th. The attack commenced at five p.m. and lasted till eight p.m., although the Zulus remained in the neighbourhood till dawn. There were two buildings, one for stores, the other for hospital. Hearing of the Zulu success, the fellows were set to work to prepare for an attack, and joined the two houses together with a breastwork of mealie sacks, their strength being eighty all told, besides sick men. They made a most gallant defence; the Zulus set fire to the hospital, and killed two invalids, but could not drive the gallant little band out of the store. We lost thirteen all told, three having since died of their wounds. The Zulus left on the ground close to the house 350 slain, and carried away great numbers of their dead.' Thus the raging tide was stayed; the Amazulu did not further pursue their conquests. Had they done so, there was nothing to have arrested their course, until they had traversed the colony of Natal, and with fire and sword spread desolation abroad. But here their proud waves were stayed, not by human hands, but by the unseen hand of a defending and protecting God. Had this not been the case, the slaughter and weeping of Isandhlwana would have been repeated. The chivalrous deeds of this small, heroic band have been celebrated in song which will be immortal.

RORKE'S DRIFT, JANUARY 22-23, 1879.

JUST as the light was failing,
And the day was lost in night,
A little band of heroes
Comes hastening from the fight.*
'To the ford!' has been the password
That has nerved them as they fought;
And to hold the ford 'gainst fire and sword
Is now their only thought!

And scarcely have they gathered,
A hundred men in all,
Within the shade of the frail stockade,
Than the foemen on them fall,
And they find themselves beleagnured;
For behind them rolls the flood,
And before them surge the Zulus,
Drunk with their comrades' blood.

Already are they weary,
For long has been the fray;
And they are sick at heart with
The horrors of the day;
But not a heart that rallies
As Bromhead's voice is heard
Above the savage war-cries—
No pulse but then is stirred.

'Now, Twenty-fourth! remember
What 't is on us depends!'
And comes to him as answer
A cheer the air that rends.
And then, in bitter earnest,
Each man stands to his post;
And in the dark, like devils, stark,
Rush on the Zulu host.

* There is an impression in England that the little band of heroes who held Rorke's Drift took part in the battle of Isandhlwana. This is, of course, an error. But the bravery displayed in holding the position is worthy of being immortalised in verse and in history.

The War in Zululand.

And who shall tell the struggle
That wages through the night,
As wave on wave of warriors
Pour onward to the fight?
Or who esteem the courage
With which, till break of day,
That band of British soldiers
Still kept the foe at bay?

For in that little fortress
Fivescore at most held out,
While twice two thousand Zulus
Raised high their battle shout.
'T was but a hundred heroes—
Leonidas had three—
Yet have they made of that stockade
A new Thermopylæ!

And even through the sorrow
That hangs upon the land
For those who, fighting bravely,
Fell 'neath the Zulu's hand,
A cheering glint of sunshine
Comes smiling into view—
The dark clouds lift about Rorke's Drift,
And we can see the blue.

And e'en in the homes of mourning,
Where death has stricken hard,
They talk of Gonville Bromhead
And Adendorff and Chard;
They tell how, with a hundred,
Saved from the spear and sword,
Like demigods, 'gainst crushing odds,
Till morn they held the ford.

For well they knew that lacking
This one way of retreat,
There must come to their general
A terrible defeat;

So, feeling 't was their duty,
Not one for life would fly,
But set himself to hold it—
To hold it, or to die.

And in our history's pages
Shall the same tale be told,
And on the country's roll-call
The names shall be enrolled,
Of that brave band of heroes
Who in her darkest hour,
And when her need was sorest,
Upheld Old England's power.

—*Truth.*

The commander wrote : ' A determined attack had been made during the night on the commissariat station there (Rorke's Drift), which was occupied by a company of the 2-24th under Lieutenant Bromhead, the whole being in command of Lieutenant Chard, R.E. The officers and their men made a most gallant resistance.'

Whilst these heroic deeds were being performed at Rorke's Drift, the general returned from his advanced post to witness and realise the dreadful scene of Isandhlwana. 'On hearing that the camp had been attacked the general at once moved back, and found that it had been in complete possession of the Zulus; tents and waggons looted and destroyed, and the oxen gone.

'The general further states that the camp had been defended with the utmost gallantry, but our forces were overwhelmed by numbers.

'His excellency did not arrive at the camp until nightfall, and, with his troops, bivouaced amongst the bodies of his dead soldiery and the enemy.'

So says the official despatch. A terrible night it must have been to the general. The term generally used

to designate the slaughter of the day is 'massacre.' This term is regarded by many as a misnomer; we are, in historic faithfulness, compelled to say it was an overwhelming defeat. This was deliberate, actual warfare, conducted by the British in the enemy's country, after long and expensive preparation, and we have no more true ground to call it a massacre than we should have on the opposite side if the same terrible defeat had been inflicted upon the defending Amazulu. To those who look calmly on, with all the evidence before them which they are able to collect, it appears utterly unaccountable how the general, with so large a portion of the column, could be so far ahead of this part of the division as to have all direct communication betwixt them suspended, so that some 1,800 of his men should be cut to pieces whilst he is so near, and yet in ignorance of the whole affair. The following well written, detailed account, taken from the *Witness*, places the subject in its best light, and we think it only fair to insert it:

It was at this part of the day, viz., about 12.30 p.m., that a suspicion that something was going on in camp first struck some of us. Mr. Longcast, interpreter to the lieutenant-general, learned from one of the prisoners that an immense army was expected up from the king's that day, numbering, it was estimated by those who knew the regiments named, 20,000 or 25,000 men. He was employed in cross-examining some of the other prisoners, when suddenly he and those standing round heard the distinct report of big guns in the direction of the camp, and the Kaffirs about said, 'Do you hear that? there is fighting going on in camp!' This was at once reported to the general, who was by this time some way down the hill, making for the spot near the Amange stream, where the mounted police and Carbineers were offsaddled. He only stopped by them for a second or two, and then moved on towards the lower part of the

Amange, where the road crosses, where he was going to select a spot for the camp. While doing so, however, a native, on horseback, who had just galloped down from the opposite ridge from where the camp could be seen, began to holloa, and on a staff officer, who spoke the language, going up to him, he said that an attack was taking place on the camp, that he could see heavy firing and hear the big guns. On this being reported to Lord Chelmsford, he at once galloped up to the top of the hill as fast as possible, and on arriving on the crest of the hill, every glass was at once levelled at the camp. All, however, seemed quiet; the sun was shining brightly on the white tents; no signs of firing could be seen, and though bodies of men could be seen moving about, yet they were naturally put down as some of our own troops. This was at 1.45 p.m., and not the faintest suspicion of any disaster had then crossed our minds. We believed an attack had been made on the camp, and had been repulsed, as those who knew Lord Chelmsford's dispositions for defending it had every right and reason to believe.

Some little time was passed on this ridge, and it was not until a quarter to three that Lord Chelmsford turned his horse's head campwards. When we had been at the head of the valley on the left, it had been decided that head-quarters' camp should move to the spot at the Amange stream; but it is likely that anxiety to hear what the attack on the camp had really been induced the general to return to it in person.

The Carbineers and mounted infantry accompanied him, and the 1-24th, the four guns, and the mounted police remained, with the 2-3rd N.N.C., to form the new camp. No incident occurred worthy of note during the first seven miles. We certainly noticed that some of the tents had disappeared, but supposed that they had been struck in accordance with the orders given in the morning, and, as yet, unaltered. No vestige of suspicion of the real truth had as yet entered our minds. When about four miles from the camp we fell in with the N.N.C., which had been ordered to return so many hours previously, but seeing that the camp was attacked by a force much its superior in number, had wisely halted. From it we received no information of which we were not already aware. About half-an-hour afterwards we were met by a solitary horseman coming at a foot pace from the direction

of the camp, who, as he came nearer, was recognised as Commandant Lonsdale, whom we knew to have ridden on. It is little exaggeration to say that those who heard him tell the general, "The camp is in possession of the enemy, sir!" will not soon forget it. His account of his own adventures is also one of the most stirring of the many rumours and so called histories with which we have since been inundated, and possesses the great advantage of undoubted truth.

Commandant Lonsdale was quietly returning to camp—he had been ill—was tired, and was slowly jogging along with the sort of lazy perseverance characteristic of a tired traveller. He had crossed the small waterwash to the south of the camp, when his attention was attracted by a bullet passing rather near him, and, on looking up, he saw a black man, who had evidently just fired. The real truth was of course far from his mind, and he merely thought it was one of his own contingent carelessly firing off his rifle, and pursued his way. To some extent the incident seems fortunately to have woke him up, and although he saw what seemed to be our red coats sitting in groups in and around the tents, he kept his eyes open, and when absolutely within ten yards of the tents, he saw a great black Zulu come out of one, with a bloody assagai in his hand. This made him look about him more closely, and he saw that black men, and black men only, were the wearers of our red coats. The truth flashed on him; he could read the scowl of hatred on every face; but his self-possession does not seem to have failed him, for, quietly turning his pony round, he galloped off before the enemy were aware of his intention. A hundred and fifty shots are said to have been fired at him as he did so, but by the mercy of Providence he escaped, and was thus enabled to warn the general, and so save his life and the lives of those with him.

Undoubtedly, had such warning not been given, Lord Chelmsford, accompanied by his staff and the troops with him, would have walked without suspicion into the skilful trap thus laid, and, under such circumstances, few would have escaped. As it was, those who watch men's faces could have seen that something very much out of the common had happened; the necessary measures which the occasion called for were taken without delay or hesitation. Major Gossett, A.D.C., was sent to call up Colonel

Glyn and the remainder of the troops ; the 1-3rd Natal Native Contingent were at once extended in line, with the mounted infantry and the Carbineers, respectively, on the right and left flanks, the general and his staff occupying the centre of the two native battalions, and the march forward was resumed without delay. When we were about three miles from the camp, the general ordered the troops to halt in a water-course, on the farther side of which was the last ridge which concealed their advance from those holding the camp. This measure was absolutely necessary, as without doubt the force that had been able to carry the camp would make but small ado with the Native Contingent, 1,000 strong, and the few mounted men. We were forced to wait for our supports ! A weary time it was ! waiting—waiting—every man looking at his neighbour, and wondering what the end might be.

Meantime the mounted men had been ordered to send pickets forward to ascertain what was going on, and the contradictory reports they brought in added to the general uncertainty. An hour and a half must at least have passed in this way, when the general ordered Colonel Russell to go forward with the mounted infantry and ascertain the real facts beyond a doubt. He did so, and in a short half-hour returned. Matters were as bad to the full as represented. The entire camp was swarming with Zulus, like a disturbed ant-heap with ants. Many of the tents were burning, and the numbers estimated as holding the road—our only outlet to Natal—were put down as at least 7,000 men. Under such circumstances there was only one thing to be done, viz., to wait for our supports, and then cut our way through the enemy, and Lord Chelmsford and his advisers decided at once on this course.

Tardily, as it then seemed to us, Colonel Glyn, the 1-24th, the guns, the police, and the 2-3rd N.N.C. made their appearance, and then, without doubt or hesitation, Lord Chelmsford placed his men in battle order, and commenced his march on the camp. He first spoke to the 1-24th, telling them that the camp had been taken in our absence, that the enemy held it in great force, and that he depended on them to re-take it, and re-open our communications. His speech, short and pithy, was received with cheers, and there could be no doubt the men meant what their

cheers implied, and intended to conquer or die. The order of battle was as follows: The wings consisted of ten mounted corps, a sufficient number being detailed for advanced guard and escort duties; next there came the native contingent, each keeping dressing with three companies of the 2-24th, which guarded the guns in the centre. In front of the guns were Lord Chelmsford and those immediately with him. In this order, then, the advance was made, daylight dying away more and more rapidly, until when the water-wash south of the camp was crossed, it was as dark as it ever became during the night.

Immediately after this passage had been made the left wing was ordered to advance and take the small hill on the left (true right) of the neck where the road passed the Isandhlwana. In saying the left wing, I only mean the white infantry under Major Black. He ordered them to fire one volley, and then take the hill with the bayonet, and, considering the circumstances and position, one can only feel thankful that there was no necessity for either one or the other. However, they disappeared in the darkness, and the advance continued. A few moments after, however, the voice of the general was heard ordering the guns to come into action, and the rumble of the carriages sounded for a second above the dull noise of the advancing infantry, then silence for a few seconds, followed by 'No. 1 gun, fire!' and the bright flash and roar of the seven-pounder. The shells were principally directed towards the neck in front, where many waggons were standing, which it was most likely the enemy were going to hold. Still, however, with the exception of a couple of fires, evidently signals, there was nothing to be seen of the enemy. The guns fired a few shells, limbered up, and another advance was made, when the 2-24th, who were in support on the right (true left), were ordered to fire a few shots, with the object of drawing the enemy's fire, though fruitlessly. Then the guns fired several more rounds with the most beautiful effect from an artistic point of view, but none whatever as far as discovering the position of the enemy was concerned; and then, suddenly, through the darkness we heard the 24th cheering away to our left, and knew that they had taken the hill, which was the key of the position. Three cheers were taken up all along the line, and had the Zulu nation only heard them, and known, as we did, that

they were the cheers of a handful of English troops, having lost full half their number, besides everything they possessed, and who believed themselves to be advancing against the enemy ten times numerically stronger, and under cover, and in the dark, I fancy that they would have understood that they had very considerably undervalued our 'foot men,' as they contemptuously call them. After the cheer, there was no more firing, but a steady advance to the neck, which we took possession of without resistance about 9 p.m.

I. COLUMN UNDER COLONEL PEARSON.

It is a remarkable fact that on the *same day* that the disaster at Isandhlwana happened a victory was achieved at Inyezane under Colonel Pearson. True, it was on a comparatively small scale, but its effect upon the spirits of the Amazulu would be great.

(From Colonel Pearson, commanding No. 1 Column, to the military Secretary to His Excellency the High Commissioner.)

ETSHOWE, ZULULAND, *January 23rd, 1879.*

SIR,—I have the honour to report my arrival here at 10 a.m. this day, with the column under my command, and, I am happy to state, without a casualty of any kind; except, of course, those which occurred in the engagement of yesterday, of which I have already informed you by telegram, despatched yesterday evening.

Yesterday morning, the mounted troops which preceded the column, under Major Barrow, had crossed the Inyezane River—which is about four miles from our camping ground of the previous night—when I received a note from him to say that he had selected a fairly open space for a halting place, which he had carefully videtted. I at once rode forward to reconnoitre, and found the ground covered with more bush than seemed desirable for an outspan; but as there was no water between the Inyezane and the places where we bivouacked last night—four miles farther on, and with several steep hills to climb—I decided upon outspanning for a couple of hours, to feed and rest the oxen, and to enable the men to breakfast.

It was then just eight o'clock, and I was in the act of giving directions about the pickets and scouts required for our protection, and the waggons had already begun to park, when the leading company of the native contingent, who were scouting in front—personally directed by Captain Hart, staff officer to the officer commanding that regiment—discovered the enemy advancing rapidly over the ridges in our front, and making for the clumps of bush around us.

The Zulus at once opened a heavy fire upon the men of the company who had shown themselves in the open, and they lost one officer, four non-commissioned officers, and three men killed, almost immediately after the firing began.

Unfortunately, owing to scarcely any of the officers or non-commissioned officers of the native contingent being able to speak Kaffir, and some not even English (there are several foreigners among them), it has been found most difficult to communicate orders, and it is to be feared that these men who lost their lives by gallantly holding their ground, did so under the impression that it was the duty of the contingent to fight in the first line, instead of scouting only, and, after an engagement, to pursue. I must add, however, that every exertion has been made by Major Graves, Commandant Nettleton, and Captain Hart, to explain to both the officers and men the duties expected of them. These officers, indeed, have been indefatigable in their exertions.

As soon as the firing commenced, I directed the naval brigade, under Commander Campbell, Lieutenant Lloyd's division of guns, and Captain Jackson and Lieutenant Martin's companies of the Buffs, to take up a position on a knoll close by the road (and under which they were halted), and from whence the whole of the Zulu advances could be seen and dealt with.

Meanwhile, the waggons continued to park, and as soon as the length of the column had thereby sufficiently decreased, I directed the two companies of the Buffs which were guarding the waggons about half way down the column, to clear the enemy out of the bush, which had been already shelled, and fired into with rockets and musketry by the troops on the knoll above mentioned. These companies, led by Captains Harrison and Wyld, and guided by Captain Macgregor, D.A.Q.M.G., whom I sent back for this purpose, moved out in excellent order, and quickly

getting into skirmishing order, brought their right shoulders gradually forward, and drove the Zulus before them back into the open, which again exposed them to the rockets, shells, and musketry from the knoll.

This movement released the main body of the mounted infantry and volunteers, who, with the company of Royal Engineers, had remained near the Inyezane, to protect that portion of the convoy of waggons. The Royal Engineers happened to be working at the drift when the engagement began. When thus released, both the engineers and mounted troops, under Captain Wynne and Major Barrow, respectively moved forward with the infantry. Skirmishers on the left of the latter, the whole being supported by a half-company of the Buffs and a half-company of the 99th regiment, sent out by Lieutenant-Colonel Welman, 99th regiment, who, with the rear of the column, was now coming up.

About this time the enemy was observed by Commander Campbell to be trying to outflank our left, and he offered to go with a portion of the naval brigade to drive away a body of Zulus who had got possession of a kraal about 400 yards from the knoll, and which was helping their turning movement. The naval brigade was supported by a party of the officers and non-commissioned officers of the native contingent, under Captain Hart, who were posted on high ground on the left of the Etshowe road, and who checked the Zulus from making any further attempt on our left.

Shortly afterwards, when the kraal was evacuated, Commander Campbell suggested that the enemy should be driven off still farther, to which I at once assented ; and I desired Colonel Parnell to take Captain Forster's company, the Buffs, which up to this time had remained at the foot of the knoll, and assist the naval brigade to attack some heights beyond the kraal, upon which a considerable body of Zulus were still posted. The action was completely successful, and the Zulus now fled in all directions, both from our front and left, and before the skirmishers on the right. I now ordered the column to be reformed, and at noon we resumed our march, and bivouaced for the night on the ground described in the first part of my letter. The last shot I fired was about half-past 9 a.m.

I enclose a list of the killed and wounded, and, in addition, I beg to state that both Colonel Parnell and myself had our horses shot under us.

The loss of the enemy I can, of course, only approximately give. By all accounts, however—and I have taken every pains to verify and confirm the statements made—upwards of 300 Zulus were killed. The wounded, if there were any, were either carried off or hid in the bush, as only two were found. The dead were lying about in heaps of seven and eight, and in one place ten dead bodies were found close together. At another thirty-five were counted within a very small space.

As far as I can ascertain, the numbers opposed to us were about 4,000, composed of the Umxapu, Umdhlanefu, and the Ingulubi regiments, and some 650 men of the district. I had already been warned, through Mr. Fynney, border agent, and other sources, that I might expect to be attacked at any moment after crossing the Umsindusi River, but the number of Zulus stated to be in the neighbourhood was estimated at about 8,000.

All the commanding officers speak highly of the behaviour of their men during the engagement, and of the coolness of the officers and the pains taken by them to control the expenditure of ammunition. This I can personally vouch for as regards troops on the knoll, as I was present with them the whole time. The practice made by Lieutenant Lloyd's guns, and by the rockets of the naval brigade, directed by Mr. Cotter, boatswain of H.M. ship *Active*, was excellent, and no doubt contributed materially to the success of the day. Major Barrow particularly wishes me to mention the steadiness and good conduct under fire of the Natal Mounted Volunteer Corps. Those engaged were the Victoria and Stanger Mounted Rifles, and the Natal Hussars. Of the commanding officers themselves I have already spoken.

From the officers of my staff, Colonel Walker, C.B., Captain MacGregor, and Lieutenant Knight, the Buffs,—my orderly officer—I have received every assistance, not only during yesterday's engagement, but ever since they joined me. I cannot speak too highly of the energy and attention to their duties of Staff-surgeon Norburg, R.N., my senior medical officer, and his assistants. The field hospital was established in a convenient place, almost immediately after the firing began, and the wounded

received every attention. Lastly, I wish to report the good example shown to the native pioneers by Captain Beddoes and Lieutenant Porrington, who, throughout our march, under the direction of Lieutenant Main, R.E., repaired our road in front, and during the engagement remained on the knoll, fighting rifle in hand.

I must apologise for the great length of this letter; but as the present is the first campaign of British troops against the Zulus, and as the Natal natives were being tested as soldiers for the first time, I have purposely gone into details. Should we again be engaged with the enemy there will, of course, be no further necessity for describing everything so minutely.

To-morrow morning I propose sending two companies of the Buffs, two companies of the native contingent, and a small number of mounted men, to reinforce Lieutenant-colonel Ely, 99th regiment, who, with three companies of his regiment, left behind for the purpose, is now on his way to Etshowe, with a convoy of sixty commissariat waggons. I have written to request Colonel Ely not to advance beyond the Umsindusi till reinforced. On Saturday, Major Coates starts for the Tugela with fifty empty waggons, escorted by four companies infantry, two native companies, and a few troopers, to bring up more stores.

I enclose a couple of sketches of the ground on which the engagement took place, made by Captain MacGregor and Lieutenant Knight from memory.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

C. K. PEARSON, *Colonel.*

The camp at Etshowe was at once regularly formed, and having advanced some forty miles in Zululand beyond the colonial border, the colonel had to adopt every precaution by which he might be able to maintain his position in the midst of the foe.

The following letter from a correspondent with

Major Barrow's horse will explain the true state of the case :—

LOWER TUGELA DRIFT, *January 30th, 1879.*

Here we are back in Natal, *minus* all our baggage, pots, pans, and kettles. In fact, we have nothing but what we stand up in. On Tuesday, at 12 a.m., news reached Etshowe that the whole Zulu army might be expected to attack the column at any moment. Colonel Pearson decided to send back all the mounted troops, under Major Barrow, and the native contingent, and to hold the Etshowe fort. The waggons were placed inside the intrenchments, all our ammunition, with the exception of seventy rounds per man, was handed to the infantry, and we left six corps of Buffs, four corps of the 99th, the Royal Artillery, naval brigade, and Engineers, four guns, Gatling, and rocket apparatus, in all about 1,200 men. The fort would be finished in twenty-four hours after we left, and every effort was being made to strengthen it. They have a month's food in hand. We were sent back ; first, to protect the banks of the Tugela ; second, because our horses could not be taken into the fort ; third, because of the difficulty of feeding the native contingent, and supplying the mounted troops with forage for horses. The spare stock of forage and tent bags, &c., were taken to strengthen the fort. The whole Zulu army won't take it, nor do I think they will try. We made a forced march, leaving Etshowe at 2.15 p.m., and reaching the drift at 10.30 p.m. No enciny had appeared before Etshowe. If the mounted police troops and native contingent had left together at 5 p.m., properly organised, and marched in proper order, the natives would have better understood the meaning of the movement. After the battle of the Inyezane, the natives were full of confidence, and ready to do anything ; but such a march as theirs of Tuesday night was calculated to create an erroneous impression in their minds, and it will take some time to reassure them. In their present disorganised state there will be a little trouble to get them together again, and a longer time still to inspire confidence. The volunteer corps also feel the effects of the forced march. Barrow's horse came with us, and we are about 330 strong. The flies here are dreadful, and it is a wretched place to bivouac in. There are no

Zulus within miles of the Lower Drift. In my opinion they are concentrating their forces on the columns. There was a large body of Zulus in the Umhlatusi Bush and Valley ; we reconnoitred them, and saw every sign of such being the case.

The condition of affairs in the Etshowe camp nearly a month later is graphically described in the following letter, which appeared in the *Natal Mercury* :

ETSHOWE FORT, *February 24th.*

MY last communication was sent on the 7th instant. I hope, for the sake of the poor runners, that it reached its destination in safety. It seems that we are now quite cut off from Natal, as we have had no runners in since the 11th, *i.e.*, thirteen days ago ; three lots of messengers have gone from here since then, and this is the fourth, but we have not heard if any of them succeeded in reaching Natal. Poor fellows ! we fear some of them have been cut off.

Although I have had the opportunities mentioned above of writing, I have not done so for two reasons : first, because I considered the chance but small of their reaching you ; and second, because I had next to nothing to write about. We are utterly in the dark, both as to what is going on in Natal and here around us. Colonel Pearson has for some time past given orders to the men on outpost duty to try and capture a Zulu, in order that we may learn something from him as to what is going on in the outer world, but up to the present their efforts have been without success. As I write shots are being exchanged between the Zulus and our outposts, and before I close this I may be able to tell you of a capture.

The mealies are ripe in the gardens round here, and daily expeditions are now made to them for the purpose of bringing in some. To-day as the Kaffirs who had been sent to collect the mealies retired from the gardens, the Zulus shouted to them, ' You are eating our mealies to-day ; we shall drink your coffee to-morrow.' We shall see.

As I have said, we are in ignorance of what is going on around us. We daily see bodies of the enemy on all sides of us,

varying from five to one hundred or more, and we believe them to be the scouts of a larger force; but what that force may be we know not. Probably it is between us and the Tugela, for the purpose of cutting off any reinforcement that the general may send to us. When will that happy day come? is what is daily being asked here. Yes; when?

Only for the accident—it can be called nothing else—which befell the general's column, we might have been in the king's kraal to-day. It is earnestly to be hoped that that disaster will not have the effect of making the general over-estimate the Zulus. That will be just as mischievous as an under-estimate. A bold, dashing cavalry officer, with 700 or 800 horse, is what is wanted. With them the campaign may be ended in a couple of months; without them it may take as many years.

The health of the troops, I am thankful to say, is upon the whole good. Cases of sickness of course there are, but they are not out of proportion to the number of the force, and none of them are of a serious nature at present.

For the space of nine long, weary weeks the garrison at the Etshowe were pent, being isolated and cut off from the outer world. The privations and wear of this long siege tried the soldiers greatly, but they bore all with a wonderful amount of patience and fortitude; and successfully defended their position against every effort which the enemy was able to make upon them.

At length, after reinforcements of troops had been received from England, the general was able to complete his arrangements to afford relief. On the morning of March the 29th, the relief column started at six o'clock a.m.

THE advanced position consists of Colonel Law, commanding the naval brigades from the *Shah* and the *Tenedos*, two seven-pounders and Gatlings, two companies Buffs, five companies 99th, the whole of the 91st, with Barrow's mounted infantry and mounted natives. 100 waggons follow, flanked on each side by battalion of native foot, Nettleton's and Basutos. Then come the rear division,

Colonel Pemberton commanding, consisting of the 57th, the 60th, naval brigade of the *Boadicea*, with Gatling and mounted natives. Lord Chelmsford and staff, also the commodore, proceed with us. No tents taken. We bivouac and entrench every night.

On the line of march they were encountered by the Amazulu at Ginginhlovo. The following particulars of the engagement, with its successful result, appeared in the *Times of Natal* :

THE advance reached the site now famous as Ginginhlovo about half-past twelve, April 1, and the laager was most carefully constructed as to size and regularity. A good deal of calculation had been exercised on the road up to find out exactly what sized laager would give us a maximum of room for the cattle and waggons, with a minimum space to be defended, and it was found after three days' experience, by Colonel Crealock, that if made about 130 yards square, it would provide ample room for all, and give two men to the square yard of our defence line, and allow room for the natives to be placed in the rear of the Europeans. The laager was made in this way, having its front overlooking the Inyanzane Valley, and facing Etshowe, its right side facing an old military kraal, burnt some time since, the name of which is now adopted by us ; its rear parallel to the sea, and on its left the Amatikulu Bush could be seen some miles off. Just after the whole was thoroughly completed darkness set in, and we had no time to cut down the high grass and clumps of bushes which surrounded us at about 130 yards distance.' This was a pity, as it turned out, and gave our enemy a better chance than he would otherwise have had. During the afternoon we received news from the Tugela about the affairs of Colonel Wood's column, but could not quite make out the actual result, as things were slightly mixed. We, however, gathered sufficient to show that Colonel Wood had beaten off an attack on his camp with a heavy loss to the enemy, although at a comparatively high cost to ourselves in officers and men. At 7.45 p.m. we had a false alarm, and the men stood to arms for some time. Nothing further, however, was heard throughout the night ; but several large fires were seen away in the distance at the top of the valley on our

left front. These we afterwards found out were the night fires of the force which attacked us on the following morning.

On Wednesday morning, the 2nd April, the sun rose upon the scene at about 5.15, and shortly afterwards our scouts and mounted natives were sent out for patrolling. I rose about 5.30, and then thought I heard a few shots in the distance ; but no one paid any particular attention to it, and preparations were made for letting the cattle out, and getting the water and things ready for breakfast, as it was known that the general intended to remain at this camp for the whole day, and leave on the following day with only part of the column for Etshowe, which place he had decided to evacuate on account of its inaccessibility, and also as it was out of the road which this column is in future going to take. At a little before six, I was on the waggon at the left front corner, and saw large bodies of natives coming over the hills beyond the Inyanzane, and then heard several shots in succession. I went and reported this to Colonel Crealock, and the attention of the staff was no sooner drawn to the position of affairs than it became at once seen that it was two columns of the enemy coming on straight to attack, driving in our scouts and mounted natives before them. The alarm was soon given, the necessary orders issued, and we were quite ready for them.

The positions of the different regiments before the engagement were as follows : Our front face was defended by the 60th Rifles, who had the Marines, with a Gatling, at their right front corner, and the *Boadicea's* men with two rocket tubes on their left. The 57th lined the right face towards the old military kraal, with some of the naval brigade and a Gatling on their right rear corner. At the rear was the 91st, with some of the naval brigade and two nine-pounders at the left rear corner, and the 99th and 3rd Buffs had the left face from this corner to where the *Boadicea's* men were stationed with the two rockets. All the mounted men were behind these close by the waggons at the rear and right faces of the laager, while the native contingent regiments were gathered together at the left rear corner by the two nine-pounders. The tops of the waggons themselves were lined with conductors and other non-combatants who were able to get a gun, and many a Zulu was laid low by a well-aimed shot from this advantageous position. Exactly at six o'clock the enemy

were seen crossing the Inyanzane in two strong columns, while two other smaller ones were approaching, the one from the direction of the Amatikhulu Bush, and the other from behind the hill close by the old military kraal. Within ten minutes' time the leading companies of the two columns had deployed into the valley, and the right and left horns were immediately sent forward at the double to encircle our camp; this was done within a quarter of an hour, and the engagement was begun by the Gatlings at 1,000 yards.

A good chance occurred previous to this, while the enemy were deploying in masses, for rockets to have been fired, but, no orders being given, Lieutenant Carr had to wait. The time passed quite quickly enough, for when the enemy got up to within three or four hundred yards, the firing became incessant on both sides. Aided by the cover of the long grass and several clumps of bushes, the enemy still managed to creep up to the edge of the cover, and there lay a long time, our fire being too hot to allow them a chance of a rush. A most determined attempt was, however, made on the front right corner. Several of the enemy actually managed to get within twenty-five yards of the trench with the Gatling guns playing upon them. After the action five were found in a lump all mown down together. Another attempt was also made on the rear, but had to be given up. Then ensued a more steady style of firing on both sides, and it was during this period that most of our officers and men were hit. Colonel Northey was one of the first to fall, shortly followed by Surgeon-major Longfield, both hit in the left shoulder. Captain Hinxmau was also shot in the leg, and poor Johnson the instructor of musketry to the 99th, fell dead, shot through the breast not a yard away from his commanding officer.

During this time the general and his staff were omnipresent, Lord Chelmsford going round on foot with his red nightcap on, encouraging the men, directing their fire, and advising them to fire low and steady. The staff were all mounted, and several had horses wounded or killed under them. Colonel Crealock got a slight hit in the right arm from a piece of iron, which he found afterwards in his sleeve, as also did Lieutenant Milne, and many others had narrow escapes.

At about 6.45 Major Barrow got the order to charge the

enemy from the rear face of the laager, who, after a desperate attempt to take that part, were retiring from the hot fire. This was done, and Barrow took out his mounted infantry, who are now all armed with sabres, and formed them into two lines a few paces apart, giving instructions that the men in the rear rank should take care that no man who fell in the front should be surrounded and killed by Zulus closing on him. It was a pretty sight to see the charge, led by the gallant little major himself. The line of Zulus fired a few shots, then turned and ran, but were quickly caught up and despatched, none of the mounted infantry being hurt. Major Barrow had a slight wound in the right thigh, and two horses were killed and others wounded, but these were the only casualties in killing over 100 of the enemy. When the effect of the charge was seen the native contingent under Nettleton were also ordered to charge from the other corner of our rear face, and with a hearty cheer given by the soldiers near, and re-echoed all around the laager, our natives went helter-skelter, the officers having hardly time to get their horses. In fact, Commander Nettleton and Captain Hart were on foot the whole time, and set a splendid example to our men, who followed them closely and pluckily, notwithstanding that three of the first company were shot dead advancing by the enemy, who fired one volley, and then fled precipitately.

After this the enemy ceased firing on our front, right, and left faces, and joined in the flight, being greeted with volleys of balls as they crossed the open, varied by shells and rockets from the guns. It was past seven when the Natal Native Contingent were given the order to charge, and in half-an-hour there was not a Zulu within miles, except those hiding and the wounded, all of whom when found were killed. Only in a few cases were the officers able to rescue wounded Zulus from these natives, and when they did the Zulus often turned and fired or tried to stab those nearest them. Two large bodies of Zulus remained in reserve on the hills, and when they saw their men beaten and flying they also went away, but 'sullenly,' as they were at a distance, and safely over the river. A lot who escaped from our left congregated on a hill a mile and a half off towards the Amatikulu, but were easily dislodged and scattered by the playful reception of a few shells from the nine-pounders; two went plump into a lot

of them, and killed many, as we afterwards saw on visiting the spot.

Shortly after the engagement began the medical staff laid a tarpaulin down and proceeded to erect tents for the wounded inside the laager, near the right face, and as the few wounded were brought up no difficulty was experienced in having them attended to at once. Drs. Tarrant, Bolton, O'Neill, Harding, and two assistant naval surgeons, working quietly but expeditiously, got all the wounded comfortably attended to by the time that the action was ended. It was found that our total casualties were one officer killed and three wounded badly ; four men killed and twenty-five wounded. There were also about seven natives killed and ten wounded. Of the officers wounded Colonel Northey has since died, as also two of the men. All the rest are doing well. The firing on our side throughout was, taking all in all, and considering that many of the men were very young soldiers, very fair, for although in some cases the average of shots fired per man in a company would run up to fifteen, yet the general average cannot have been more than seven or eight. The 57th Regiment were, however, much lower than this, having only used five rounds per man, and this was on a flank where a most determined fire was kept up by the enemy from a good and fairly secure position.

The general afterwards personally complimented the officers and regiment on its steadiness, and said he should specially mention their splendid discipline. In the other regiments I several times noticed officers trying their hardest to keep the fire steady, and in one case an officer sprang out in front of the trench itself, and threatened to send any man to the rear if they did not obey his orders. This was the very essence of coolness and pluck, and had a great effect. The whole of the naval brigade were steadiness personified, and seemed quite disappointed when the action ceased. For a long time it was quite impossible to see what damage our fire had done, and at first it was thought we had not killed more than 600 or 700, because we only buried 473 bodies within 500 yards of the laager, but we found out afterwards that not only was the whole valley strewn with bodies, but also that numbers had died of their wounds, escaping in many cases miles away. Altogether we have now found 1,100 bodies, and hundreds

more must have been slightly wounded. At any rate the lesson taught was so severe that in their flight the enemy threw everything away—guns, assagais, shields, &c., in order to lighten themselves. This was fully proved by the number of guns, &c., found in the river Inyanzane, which most of the retiring Zulus crossed. The fact also that not a single Zulu was seen again during the whole time we were going or coming from Etshowe, except those seen at Dabulamanzi's kraal, proves what a defeat they sustained.

No praise, however, can be too great for the pluck shown by these untutored and barbarous savages in coming on in daylight and attacking a fortified place defended by such a large body of Europeans. I have always said they would fight again, and I am now more convinced than ever that no matter how often they are beaten, so soon as any leader can get together a few thousands of them, so often will they come on to meet us wherever and whenever we may be on their land. But to return to the scene of our engagement, and the subsequent occurrences of that 2nd of April.

Several prisoners were taken, and from one of the first we got the information that the *impi* which attacked us had been sent down on purpose from the king, and was commanded by Dabulamanzi and Somayo. It numbered 115 companies of over 100 men each, equal to 11,500 in all, and five of the best regiments were represented; viz., the Uve, Tulwana, Umcityu, Umbonambi, and Ukobamakosi. Dabulamanzi led in person, and was on horseback. Several people state that he led the last attack on our rear, others that he was on a hill three miles off, watching the engagement the whole time. Other information obtained from more of the prisoners stated that the king, with women and oxen, had returned to the Umvelusi Valley, and had given this *impi* to Dabulamanzi to prevent our relieving Pearson, and that they had marched for two days without any food until they had arrived at a spot on the old road to the Inyanzane, about six miles from our laager, and hidden from it by intervening hills. There had been a dispute among them as to whether they should attack that night (Tuesday evening), or have a feed and wait until morning. Dabulamanzi agreed with the latter plan, and the fact of our having sent up a rocket-signal the same evening at eight, also determined them to wait till morning. They then divided

and attacked as I have before described. Having arrived so late in the evening, the enemy had not been able to send scouts out, and therefore knew nothing of our strength. The men of the surrounding districts are now in the Engoa Forest, farther up the coast, with their women and cattle.

At about half-past eight we noticed flashing from Etshowe, and having brought a looking-glass with the column, several signal men were told off for duty, and we went to work, receiving and transmitting. The first we got was from Colonel Pearson to the general congratulating us on our victory, and telling us they saw the whole engagement plainly. They also informed us about Wood's fights, and stated that another *impi* of about 20,000 was approaching the river, but had warned Helpmakaar, Newcastle, and Utrecht. We then sent them a list of our killed and wounded, and informed them that we are to start to-morrow with part of our column to get through to them the same day, and that when we were in sight under Etshowe Colonel Pearson was to come out and meet us. Fatigue parties were told off to bury the dead Zulus, as also to dig graves for our poor fellows, whom we buried at noon—Lieutenant Johnson and three privates in one long grave, and a native of ours in another small one alongside. The service was read by Major Walker, commanding the 99th, and the body of poor Johnson was borne to the grave on a stretcher by four brother officers. Few men were better liked by the officers or respected by the men than he whose body we were just burying, and the men's eyes were moist when we returned 'dust to dust' and 'ashes to ashes.'

While the men were out cooking their dinners an alarm was given, and all were in their positions in five minutes. The fate of one poor man, a private of the 91st, who had been cut off and assagaied during the morning attack, having gone down for water, operated with wonderful effect upon the others. The alarm soon subsided when no enemy was seen anywhere near. I must not forget to add that while the engagement was on, John Dunn mounted a waggon with his rifle, afterwards issuing out with his own men, and doing deadly execution among the enemy, scouring the country for miles around. Even those who believed least in Dunn, and their name is legion, must now admit that he has done good service, and shown his will and power to help Lord Chelmsford in a very extensive way.

The achievement of this victory is the first signal check given to the Amazulu triumphs. The British troops had obtained some advantages before, which were a check for the time being ; but now the utter failure of the Amazulu to take Lord Chelmsford's camp, and the consequent immediate relief of the beleaguered garrison at Etshowe, would destroy their prestige, and be the real turning point of the success of the British forces. In this attack upon the camp in broad day by the Amazulu warriors, knowing the terrible power of English weapons, there is a display of barbaric heroism which must stamp them as desperate, undaunted warriors.

On the day following the long imprisonment of the garrison came to an end. Lord Chelmsford's official report gives the following particulars :

THE following day, the 3rd of April, I left Major Walker, 99th regiment, with two companies of the Buffs, two of the 91st, five of the 99th, and 400 naval brigade, together with the Natal Native Contingent, as a garrison for the laager, which was altered in size to meet the reduced strength. The remainder of the column, carrying three days' biscuit and meat, with a ground sheet between every two men, and escorting fifty-eight carts of stores for the Etshowe garrison, moved off in compact order for Etshowe. The distance to be traversed was only some fifteen miles, but the streams were deep and the swamps heavy, and for the last eight or nine miles of the road the ascents steep ; in two places the road had been partly destroyed by the Zulus. It was 11.30 p.m. before the whole relief column reached Etshowe. Colonel Pearson and a portion of the garrison came out to meet me, which would have been of great assistance had the enemy opposed our advance, but none were to be seen that day.

The 4th of April, next day, Colonel Pearson evacuated the fort, taking with him the whole of his stores, &c.

I accompanied a patrol under Captain Barrow, who, with his mounted force, Dunn's scouts, and a company of Natal Pioneers of the Etshowe garrison, proceeded to destroy a kraal of Dabulamanzi's, some eight or nine miles off, on the Entumeni Hill ; two of the enemy were killed, and one prisoner taken. A small body

of some forty Zulus kept up a well-directed fire from a neighbouring hill, but no casualty occurred on our side.

The 5th of April, the relieving column left Etshowe, covering the movement of Colonel Pearson, who encamped near the Inyezane the same evening, while my force bivouacked near the Infuchini mission station.

My reasons for ordering Colonel Pearson to evacuate Etshowe were that I found the last fifteen miles of the road of a most difficult nature, far more so than I had been led to believe by the reports furnished me before Colonel Pearson crossed the frontier in January.

On the 7th Lord Chelmsford left the new camp, with his staff, and rode to Fort Tenedos. On the same day Colonel Pearson arrived there with the Etshowe garrison, their march not being interrupted by any casualty.

The leading facts having been recorded of column No. 1, under Colonel Pearson, also of column No. 2, under Colonel Durnford, with the disaster of Isandhlwana, some notice of column No. 4, under Colonel Wood, is needed.

Before narrating some of the events connected with this column, I must request the intelligent reader to consult the map, so that he may obtain that knowledge of the different localities where the events described took place, or otherwise he can only have a very confused and obscure conception of the varied operations. In doing this it will be found that column 1 operated upon the coast line of the extensive border; the second column near Rorke's Drift and Helpmakaar, say, one hundred miles inland from the coast, and now the fourth column, say one hundred miles farther along the border, turning to the east, and having the Transvaal on the north-west. The chief points of occupancy and defence

were Luneberg and Derby; the former being on the Pongola River, with Utrecht as its base, the latter being much farther north.

Colonel Wood had been successful in several exploits performed against the Amazulu, in which considerable military tact was displayed, as well as dashing courage. This good fortune, however, did not always attend his operations. The defeat on the Intombe River was sad in the extreme, so far as it extended. The following official account will give a general idea of it. The names of forty killed and twenty-one missing are given; the probability is that the whole loss would not be less than 100 men, as on such occasions the names of those belonging to waggons are not given.

A CORRESPONDENT of the *Transvaal Argus* writes: It is with the deepest sorrow that I write to convey the sad, sad news of the disaster that occurred this (Wednesday) morning, March 12th, 1879, between the hours of four and five o'clock, at the Intombe River, about four and a half or five miles from Luneberg, which resulted in great loss of life: one captain, one civil surgeon, forty non-commissioned officers and men being found assagaied and butchered on the scene of the action, twenty being still unaccounted for, only forty-three turning up at Luneberg out of 105. The circumstances in detail, as far as can be accurately known, are as follows: On Saturday, March 1st, letter D company, 80th regiment, in command of Captain Anderson, accompanied by Lieutenant Daubency, was sent out from Luneberg to act as convoy to waggons from Lydenburg and Middleburg *via* Derby, laden with ammunition, stores, and provisions. They met the waggons some distance on the other side of the Intombe River, and took them in charge. On Wednesday, the 5th, Captain Anderson and his company were recalled, abandoning the waggons which were in their charge to care for themselves.

On Friday, the 7th March, Captain Moriarty, accompanied by Lieutenants Johnson and Lindop, with Dr. Cobbin, civil surgeon, went out with 103 non-commissioned officers and men to coin-

plete the escort duty the first company sent out were detailed for. Captain Moriarty, on arrival at the Intombe River, halted and pitched his camp on the Luneberg side of the river, as owing to its being very much swollen through the incessant rain, it was found impossible to get across. Eventually a raft was constructed, and the men passed over in groups, Captain Moriarty and Lieutenant Johnson accompanying them, leaving about thirty-five men behind under command of Lieutenant Lindop as a working party to cut down the drift, and to prepare and forward supplies to those who had crossed. Lieutenant Johnson with a party of men went on at once to meet the waggons, Captain Moriarty with another party following, leaving a sergeant and a few men on the Derby side of the river to pitch the tents. The waggons were first reached by a few mounted men, when it was found they had been tampered with by the Kaffirs, in the absence of one company being recalled, and the other coming out. All the waggons were eventually got to the bank of the river by two o'clock on Tuesday, the 11th, the escort returning with them. I omitted to mention that it was stated forty-six oxen were taken in addition to the stores being interfered with from the waggons. It was raining very heavily at this time, but ceased about four in the afternoon. Captain Moriarty caused the waggons to be laagered in the shape of a triangle, the river being the base, the waggons on the sides resting within twelve or fifteen yards of the river; inside the laager, the men, about seventy-nine, were stationed, also the oxen. Everything seemed perfectly safe and secure, every precaution being taken. It was impossible to get the waggons across on the Luneberg side, as the river was swelling more and more, and the current running six or seven knots an hour.

About 4.15 a.m. the never-to-be-forgotten 12th of March, a shot was heard, and reported by the sentry to Lieutenant Harwood (who had been sent out to relieve Lieutenants Johnson and Lindop, the former acting commissariat officer, the latter acting ordnance officer, the evening before the 12th). Lieutenant Harwood sent over at once to the other side of the river to report the circumstances to Captain Moriarty. The men at once stood to their arms. At this time there was a very heavy mist and fog. No sooner had the rain ceased, and the fog partly cleared away, so that those in the laager could distinguish fifty yards in front,

than a volley was poured into the laager by an *impi* of Zulus, who had crept up to within about 100 yards of the laager. They then threw down their guns, and charged assagai in hand on the laager, which was most heroically and bravely defended till overwhelmed by over 4,000 Zulus. Then the butchery began, the gallant fellows being assagaied in all directions. Seeing their laager taken, the few who were left took to the river, and endeavoured to reach the little party on the Luneberg side. They were followed into the river by the Zulus, and assagaied, not more than twelve or fifteen escaping from the laager.

The party on the Luneberg side of the river, in command of Sergeant Booth, was all this time keeping up a heavy fire on the Zulus on the opposite bank, and protecting their comrades who were attempting to escape through the river. This sergeant and little party fought most bravely till, at last, outflanked by hundreds of Zulus, who had crossed the river on both sides of them with intent to cut them off, they retired, disputing the ground into Luneberg, and being followed for over two miles by hundreds of Zulus. A great many of those saved owed their lives to Sergeant Booth and Lance-corporal Burgess, who collected the few straggling men, and kept pouring volley after volley upon the advancing Zulus, as they retreated into Luneberg. Lieutenant Harwood, who was on the Luneberg side of the river, rode in with all speed to convey the news of the attack to Major Tucker. It was about six when Lieutenant Harwood arrived with the sad news.

Major Tucker immediately mounted every one for whom a horse could be found, and, accompanied by Lieutenants Harwood and Johnson, and a little body of horse, rode with all speed to the scene, followed by two companies, C in command of Lieutenant Chamberlain, and H in command of Lieutenant Potts, accompanied by Lieutenant Lindop; letter D company, in command of Captain Anderson, being left to guard the fort at Luneberg. As the mounted party neared the scene of the attack, they could plainly see the Zulus moving over the hills like so many ants, the *impi* being estimated at between four and five thousand. On arrival at the laager a most ghastly and horrid sight presented itself. There lay our poor fellows, butchered and assagaied, and otherwise disgracefully illused, amongst whom were Captain

Moriarty and Civil-surgeon Cobbin and thirty-five men. Major Tucker caused the whole of the bodies to be collected, a large square grave dug on the bank of the river, and all, with the exception of Captain Moriarty and Dr. Cobbin, who were brought to Luneberg, buried. The funeral service was read and the honours of war fired over them. Captain Moriarty and Dr. Cobbin were buried with military honours in the little graveyard of Luneberg, as also four other poor fellows who were found on their way to Luneberg. Evidently they were previously wounded and were trying to effect their escape, but being overtaken were killed and disembowelled. Almost all the poor fellows were disembowelled that were assagaied. Too much could not be said for the exertions and labour of Lieutenant Chamberlain, who caused the bodies, which were in many cases dreadfully disfigured, to be carefully identified, and an inventory taken of anything that might have been found on them. Almost in every case the bodies were stripped of their clothing.

On a careful inspection of the camp being made it was found that the whole of the ammunition had been carried away, also blankets, rifles, &c. What was left was taken from off the waggons, and was strewn all over the place; biscuit, tins of preserved meat, and mealies, lay scattered in all directions. The rockets and rocket apparatus were taken out of the boxes, but received no serious damage. All the oxen were carried off, and thirty Zulus were found killed, numbers being carried off. From the traces of blood all over the place numbers of Zulus must have been wounded. Two Zulus were found alive badly wounded. It was ascertained from the wounded Zulus that Umbeline himself was with the *impi*, and their strength was about 9,000. When asked why they fled so quick, they said they dreaded the other redcoats coming down on them. They also contemplated attacking the fort at Luneberg three days before this.

Now that this sacrifice of life has occurred, perhaps steps will be taken in future to avoid sending a handful of men as a convoy to waggons, and in the eyes of justice we trust a thorough investigation will be made, as this demands it, more especially as it was well known to the military authorities at Luneberg for some days previous that Umbeline with an *impi* of Zulus was hovering about close by. All sorts of precautions are taken in the fort

(Fort Cleary), a company being told off nightly as an outlying picket, the officers and men being exposed to the weather, and being frequently saturated through. This is necessary ; but there is a deal of bombastie nonsense that could be avoided, which tends to harass and annoy men. Why were the whole of the mounted men removed from Luneberg to Colonel Wood's column ? surely fifty of Raaff's or Weatherley's horse could have been left. It's a well acknowledged fact, infantry soldiers are unsuited for the performance of escort duties. Then why not have kept the mounted here ? A far different tale would have been told had there been 100 or 150 mounted men close at hand when the sad news arrived.

When Captain Moriarty was shot through the breast he cried out, ' Fire away, boys ; death or glory ; I am done ' ; and was then surrounded and assagaied.

This account is harrowing in the extreme. Colonel Wood was not present in these operations, and so far may be excused ; but the operations were carried on in that part of the campaign in which he was commanding, and in so far were under his direction and control. Great indignation was felt in the colonies at this disaster, following so quickly after the terrible slaughter of Isándhlwana, being regarded as utterly inexcusable with such a sad monition before the eyes of those conducting the war.

One event of some importance at this stage of the operations occurred which is of a relieving character. Oham, a subordinate Zulu chief, with a number of people under him, voluntarily withdrew from Kechwayo in the war, and came over to the English camp, giving himself up, with wives and children, to be taken under British protection. After Oham and a number of his followers had been received by Colonel Wood, the wives and children were sent for ; the following is the official account of this adventure :

COLONEL WOOD, C.B., V.C., reports from Kambula Hill, on the 16th instant, that Oham having requested him to endeavour to get in his wives and family, he (Colonel Wood) sent off twenty of Oham's men on the 12th to collect them. Leaving the camp at 5 a.m. on the 14th, he accompanied a patrol, consisting of 360 rifles, under Lieutenant-colonel Buller, C.B., thirty burghers, under Piet Uys, and 200 of Oham's men, under the direction of Mr. Lloyd, and reached the caves near the Inhlanguawine Mountains, twelve miles east of the source of the Umkusi, about forty-five miles from the camp, at 9.30 p.m. The last seven miles, across a very difficult hill, occupied three hours. They shot a few Zulus, and took some head of cattle that had formerly belonged to Oham. James Rorke and Calverly, who accompanied the party, having reported that all the women and people had been collected out of the caves, they started back at 9 the following morning, reaching the Zinguin Range the same evening, and Kambula camp at 1 p.m. the 16th. A few shots were fired at long range at the party from the Inhlanguawine, a strong position, where there appeared to be from 800 to 1,000 men.

W. BELLAIRS, D.A.G.

D'URBAN, 22nd *March*, 1879.

We have next a statement informing us of the manner in which Oham and his thirty-two wives and children and followers were disposed of:

KAMBULA CAMP, *March 20th*, 1879.

This morning Oham, his thirty-two wives, and about 400 women and children belonging to the tribe, together with the chief's counsellors, servants, and old men, left for Bulder Spruit to be forwarded to Utrecht, from whence they will be sent to some place under the Drakensberg until the war is over. The able-bodied men will remain to fight on our side during the war. All who accompany the chief are disarmed, the bundles of the women were searched, and several guns and ammunition turned out. Oham says that at the next encounter with the Zulu army his people will take the first advantage of surrendering their arms to Colonel Wood. He has paid a visit to Mr. Piet Uys in his

tent. He said it was a hard case for him to suffer for Kechwayo's faults, and that he had always advised the king to live on friendly terms with the white man, and that he to-day was sitting at ease in his kraal, while he, Oham, had had to leave his home and wander away for safety.

We have next to observe a battle and defence which are claimed as a victory ; how far this claim is sustained by facts is questionable. An expedition was arranged to attack the Amazulu, and capture cattle in a range of mountains of which Zlobani occupied a conspicuous position. The nature and result of this engagement are given in the following official account :

KAMBULA CAMP, ZULULAND, *March 30th.*

SIR,—I have the honour to report that the Zlobani Mountain was successfully assaulted and its summit cleared at daylight on the 28th by Lieutenant-colonel Buller, C.B., with the mounted rifleman and 2nd battalion Wood's irregulars, under the command of second Commandant Roberts, who worked under the general direction of Major Leet, commanding the corps. I joined Colonel Russell's column at dusk on the 27th, at his bivouac, about five miles west of the Zlobani Mountain. I had with me the Hon. R. Campbell, district staff officer to No. 4 column ; Mr. Lloyd, political assistant ; Lieutenant Lysons, 90th Light Infantry, orderly officer ; and my mounted personal escort, consisting of eight men of the 90th infantry, and six natives under Umtonga, one of Pondo's sons. Soon after 3 a.m. I rode eastward with these details, and at daylight got on Colonel Buller's track, which we followed. Colonel Weatherley met me coming westward, having lost his way the previous night, and I directed him to move on towards the sound of the firing, which was now audible on the north-east face of the mountain, where we could see the rear of Colonel Buller's column near the summit. I followed Colonel Weatherley and commenced the ascent of the mountain immediately behind the Border Horse, leading our horses. It is impossible to describe in adequate terms the difficulty of the ascent

which Colonel Buller and his men had successfully made, not without loss, however ; for horses killed and wounded helped to keep us on his track, where the rocks afforded no evidence of his advance. We soon came under fire from an unseen enemy. Ascending more rapidly than most of the Border Horse, who had got off the track, with my staff and escort, I passed to the front ; and, with half a dozen of the Border Horse, when within a hundred feet of the summit, came under a well directed fire from our front and both flanks, poured in from behind huge boulders of rocks. Mr. Lloyd fell mortally wounded at my side, and as Captain Campbell and one of the escort were carrying him on to a ledge rather lower my horse was killed, falling on me. I directed Colonel Weatherley to dislodge one or two Zulus who were causing us most of the loss ; but, as his men did not advance rapidly, Captain Campbell, Lieutenant Lysons, and three men of the 90th, jumping over a low wall, ran forward, and charged into a cave, where Captain Campbell, leading in the most gallant and determined manner, was shot dead. Lieutenant Lysons and Private Fowler followed closely on his footsteps, and one of them—for each fired—killed one Zulu and dislodged another, who crawled away by a subterranean passage, re-appearing higher up the mountain. This time we were assisted by the fire of some of Colonel Buller's men on the summit. Colonel Weatherley asked for permission to move down the hill to regain Colonel Buller's track, which he had lost, and by which the latter gained the summit without further casualties. At this time he had lost three dead and had about six or seven wounded. Mr. Lloyd was now dead, and we brought his body and that of Captain Campbell about half-way down the hill, where we buried them, still being under fire, which, however, did us no damage. I then moved slowly round under the Zlobani Mountain to the westward, to see how Colonel Russell's force had progressed, bringing with the escort a wounded man of the Border Horse and a herd of sheep and goats, driven by four of Umtonga's men. We stopped occasionally to give the wounded men stimulants, unconscious of the fact that a very large Zulu force was moving on our left across our front. We were about half-way under the centre of the mountain when Umtonga saw and explained to me by signs that a large Zulu army was close to us.

From an adjacent hill I had a good view of the force; it was marching in five columns, with horns and dense chest, the Zulu normal attack formation. The Ulundi army, being, as I believe, exhausted by its rapid march, did not close on Colonel Buller, who descended, after Oham's people, the western point of the mountain: and thus he was enabled, by great personal exertions and his heroic conduct, to bring away, not only all his men who had lost their horses, but also all his wounded who could make an effort to sit on their horses. Seeing from the Zinguin neck, where I had gone with an escort and some of Oham's men, that although the Ulundi army did not come into action, yet some 200 or 300 Zulus were pursuing our natives, who still maintained possession of some hundreds of cattle, I sent an order to Colonel Russell, who was then ascending the western end of the range, to move eastward and cover the movement of our natives to the camp. This he did, but before he could arrive some of the natives were killed. We reached camp at 7 p.m., and Colonel Buller, hearing that some of Captain Barton's party were on foot, some ten miles distant, at once started in heavy rain, with led horses, and brought in seven men, as we believe the sole survivors of the Border Horse and Captain Barton's party, who, being cut off when on my track, retreated over the north end of the Hyntecha Range. While deploring the loss we have sustained, it is my duty to bring to your notice the conduct of the living and the dead. In Mr. Lloyd, political assistant, I lose an officer whom I cannot replace. In writing to Sir Bartle Frere on the 29th, explaining that the success I had hitherto obtained was in a great measure owing to my subordinates, I penned the following lines: 'I need not trouble you with the names of my military staff, but I am anxious to bring under your notice the name of Mr. Lloyd, who has been of the greatest assistance to me. To personal courage and energy he adds a knowledge of the Zulus, their language and character, and every attribute of a humane English gentleman. Yesterday he showed great courage and devotion.' His excellency knew Captain the Honourable R. Campbell; he was an excellent staff officer, both in the field and as regards office work; and, having shown the most brilliant courage, lost his life in performing a most gallant feat. Though he fell success was gained by the courageous conduct of Lieu-

tenant Lysons and Private Fowler, 90th Light Infantry. Captain Barton, commanding the Frontier Light Horse, was always most forward in every fight, and was as humane as he was brave. On the 20th of January one of Umsabe's men, whom Captain Barton wished to take prisoner instead of killing him, fired at Captain Barton within two yards, the powder marking his face. When last seen on the 28th he was carrying on his horse a wounded man. Lieutenant Williams, 58th regiment, came out for transport duties. I nominated him as staff officer to Wood's irregulars, and he evinced on this, as on previous occasions, marked courage. Mr. Piet Uys gave on the 28th a fine example to his men, as he always did, and, remaining behind to see them safe down the mountain, was surrounded and assailed. On the eve of the engagement I undertook, in the name of the imperial government, that if Mr. Piet Uys fell I would watch over the interests of his children. I trust that his excellency the lieutenant-general and the resident in Zululand will thoroughly support my promise. Colonel Buller naturally says nothing about his own conduct; but I hear from the men that it was by his grand courage and cool head that nearly all the dismounted men were saved. His services to this column are invaluable. I desire to bring to the notice of his excellency the General Officer Commanding the names of those officers Colonel Buller mentions. I append a list of the killed and wounded as far as I have been able to obtain the particulars, and I will forward a corrected list later.

EVELYN WOOD, *Colonel.*

If this was a victory, it was dearly bought. So far as the mountain part of the operations were concerned it was a defeat. The attacking army appear to have scaled the mountain in dashing style, and taken the cattle, but afterwards the Zulus fell upon them and overcame them, and retook the cattle, under severe loss on the part of the English, who evidently had enough to do to reach their camp, and when there to hold their position against the desperate attack of the Amazulu.

The following remarks of a leading colonial paper may be regarded as somewhat severe ; but nevertheless they contain much truth, but in a pungent manner :

ZLOBANI has unfortunately turned out, as we at first feared, to be another exhibition of British rashness, redeemed indeed by prodigies of valour, but as a net result totally unsatisfactory. If we accept the current, though still quite uncertain calculations of our loss on the two days in which Colonel Wood's forces were engaged, we have thrown away the lives of over 300 of the bravest soldiers in the world, with the scanty satisfaction of having killed a thousand Zulus. A trap would seem to have been laid for Colonel Wood by the exhibition of a quantity of cattle on the mountain, while the thousands of Zulus who were prepared to take advantage of our cupidity were *not* exhibited till later. How 20,000 natives could be in close proximity to his camp, and the commander not know it, is one of those things which civilians cannot understand ; but doubtless it will be duly appreciated at the Horse Guards, where they will perhaps think that the squandering of her Majesty's troops on these most fool-hardy expeditions has now gone far enough to deserve animadversion.

The following account of the battle of Kambula, March 29th, on the day after the assault on the Zlobani Mountain, is taken chiefly from the weekly edition of the London *Times* of May 23rd, 1879 :

THE troops fell into their assigned positions at *réveil* about one hour before daylight, and were dismissed as soon as day broke. No bustle or excitement disturbed the ordinary daily routine, and at the usual hour over 2,000 oxen and horses were driven out some distance to graze. I was sitting in my tent writing the account of yesterday's doings, when a staff officer peeped in, and in the most businesslike manner informed me that the Zulus were in sight. This occurred at about noon. It appeared that Captain Raaf, who was on day patrol, had sent in one of Oham's men with the following story : Being left behind during yesterday's retreat, and seeing the *impi* approaching, he removed his distinguishing badge from his head and quietly joined the ad-

vancing throng, and so gleaned the following information: The army left Ulundi on the 24th with orders to repeat the action of Isandhlwana and Rorke's Drift. Four regiments were left behind near Etshowe, and four more with the king at Ulundi. The men stated they had marched about twenty miles a day, and had received no food, being promised a good dinner as soon as they got to Kambula! The chief command of the army was entrusted to Mnyamane, to whom I referred in a recent letter as having refused to join the attack against Luneberg on the 12th ult. This chief, however, did not come under fire throughout the day, but remained several miles in rear, the actual direction of the day's operations devolving on Tyingwayo. The force consisted of ten regiments, and was estimated at about 20,000 men.

The bearer of the above news managed to disengage himself unperceived from the Zulu masses, and hurrying towards the camp, was met by the patrols, and sent on with all possible despatch. Anxiously every telescope was turned in the direction of the black masses which now covered the hills to the north and north-west of our position. 'They will never be such fools as to run their heads against this wall,' I heard often repeated. 'One lot will go to our dépôt at Baltes Spruit, and on to Utrecht, the other to Luneberg,' was an opinion very generally expressed; and, indeed, it was hard to believe that even the thousands, who every moment became more distinct, would hazard an attack; but the majority of us were unaware that on the previous evening Colonel Wood had received news that, not only would he be attacked, but that the attack would be made from the right and left at the 'white man's dinner-time.' The information was correct, except that on this day the white man was compelled to dine a little earlier than usual. The men having dined, the mounted corps were ordered to saddle up, and when the head of the approaching column advanced to within about two miles, the alarm bugle sounded. By this time all the oxen and horses were safely laagered. I was struck by the extreme quiet that prevailed. Thanks to the careful arrangements and well-studied plans which with untiring zeal have been conceived and developed by Colonel Wood, the entire machinery of his force was in perfect working order, and, as the last tent was struck, and the last man fell into his place, an expression of assurance and confidence

seemed to gleam on the face of every one. Faith in your helmsman is everything, and no one doubted the successful result of the coming struggle.

It was evident that the first attack would be from the right, although the masses which were collecting on the distant hills to the south-east clearly showed that the main attack would be from that direction. At 1.30 p.m. the mounted troops under Lieutenant-colonel Buller, C.B., and Lieutenant-colonel Russell, attacked the head of the right Zulu 'horn,' and were at once closely engaged. No doubt the intention of this column was to move round under the left of our position, and complete the circle of attack. This was entirely frustrated by the prompt action of our mounted troops; for although the enemy bravely endeavoured to push forward, they eventually were obliged to fall back and seek shelter among the rocky ground. The cavalry had now done its duty, and galloped back into laager.

The attack on Colonel Wood's strongly fortified position affords another striking proof of the courage and loyal fidelity of the Zulu army. The unflinching obedience to orders displayed on this occasion by the soldiers of a savage African nation could not have been surpassed by the most disciplined battalions of Europe. Viewing our position from the south, the line of the main attack, one fully realises the formidable task imposed upon and cheerfully attempted by Kechwayo's troops. Crossing the numerous streams which form the head waters of the White Umvelusi, the attacking columns were forced to traverse at least 800 yards of open ground commanded by the defenders' fire, until cover was obtained from the rocks which for a height of nearly 300 feet scarp the entire right flank of the camp. The summit gained, the assailants had to face a fire from the defenders of the cattle laager at a distance not exceeding twenty yards.

That our position had been carefully reconnoitred cannot for an instant be doubted, the tactics of the enemy thoroughly bearing out this idea. As Colonel Wood had already been warned, a combined attack on both flanks was the preconcerted plan of operation. The vigorous action on the part of our mounted troops alone altered the original intentions of the Zulu commanders; for, not only were they prevented, as I explained in my last letter, from completing the circle of attack, but an engagement was

forced upon the right attacking columns before those on the left were ready to co-operate. Every advantage was taken by the enemy of the natural features of the ground, and, judging from the well-sustained and accurate fire from certain concealed spots, it is probable that marksmen, armed with Martini-Henry rifles, had been carefully selected for these positions. It was noticed that whenever the possessor of a Martini-Henry rifle was disabled, his rifle was immediately taken by one of his comrades, and in consequence a very limited number of these firearms are included among the curious collection captured from the enemy.

All information received from prisoners agrees in stating that Kechwayo experienced no difficulty in assembling his army, thus dispelling the idea that the Zulus had shown apathy in obeying the king's command. The principal regiments engaged on the 29th were the Undi, or royal regiment, the Kabanakosi, the Bonambi, the Nokenke, the Umcityu, and a large corps composed of the Amazulusine tribes. In riding round the camp at the conclusion of the action I was struck with the splendid physique and muscular development of the killed. The fire from the fort had told terribly along the ridge above the native kraals; and below the cattle laager, where Captain Waddy (1st battalion 13th regiment) and eight men had established themselves towards the end of the fight, almost twenty bodies lay in one heap. Here it was that a wounded Zulu, seeing the advance of our men, deliberately plunged his assagai into his body, and died before they reached him. Before taking the field, by the king's express orders, all distinguishing head-dresses, feathers, leopard skins, &c., had been discarded, and nothing beyond leather girdles and necklaces of charms and medicine wood were worn on this day by the Zulu soldiers. The majority of 'ringed' or married men (so called from the ring of gum worn on the head) fell from the ranks of the Nokenke and Umcityu regiments, which attacked on our left. In describing the events of the engagement I omitted to explain the altered position of the cattle laager from that occupied in Colonel Wood's original plan of encampment, a description of which I forwarded some weeks ago. This change was deemed necessary on entirely sanitary grounds; for, not only was the presence of some 2,000 oxen in the centre of our camp objectionable, but by moving them to the present laager they occupied a position on

the reverse slope of the watershed to that of the drinking water supply. Obviously, from a military point of view, the original arrangement was vastly preferable; for although the circumference to be defended was greater, yet the defenders of both laager and cattle were identical. On the 29th Colonel Wood could only afford one company for the defence of the cattle laager, and although Captain Cox (1st battalion 13th regiment) and his men stubbornly resisted the attack, they were eventually forced to retire, with a loss of four killed and seven wounded, the above officer being himself shot through the leg. It has been a matter of universal regret that Major Moysey, Royal Engineers, was absent on duty on the very day upon which the defences constructed under his superintendence stood so severe a test and enabled us to teach the assailants so costly a lesson.

In the list of casualties among the officers on the 29th ult. two names were accidentally omitted—Captains Persse, 1st battalion 13th regiment, and Alan Gardner, 14th Hussars. The former was hit on the right side, but is now, I am glad to say, convalescent; the latter, though wounded more severely in the leg, is progressing favourably. To-day a convoy of twenty wounded started for Utrecht under strong escort. A few more deaths have occurred, making a total of twenty-six since the 29th, the number of wounded amounting to fifty-eight. With regard to the lamented fate of Mr. Piet Uys, it is a matter of interest that his father was killed when endeavouring to rescue one of his sons from the hands of the Zulus, and on that occasion displayed the same indomitable courage as evinced by the late gallant boer commandant on the recent sad occasion. Uys was a man of unusually liberal ideas and shrewd sense, while his kindly manner and old-fashioned, quiet humour gained for him many friends during his three months' sojourn in this camp. Though strongly opposed to the British annexation of the Transvaal, he, not only cheerfully accepted the changed situation, but proved his loyalty to the new government by bearing arms, encouraging others to follow him, and finally sacrificing his life in its support. Before parting with Mr. Uys on the 27th ult., Colonel Wood pledged himself, in case the former should be killed, to watch over the interests of his children. Yesterday, before a general parade of the troops, Colonel Wood read an extract from a letter received from Sir

Bartle Frere, in which his excellency, after congratulating him on his recent victory, promises to fulfil these engagements. The attitude of the boers still causes much concern in official circles. The younger and more hot-headed party have, it is feared, separated themselves from their more cautious, though no less discontented leaders, and for this reason may be too much out of hand to recede from their present position. A boer laager has been established some twenty miles north of Pretoria, and we hear from authentic sources that five of Kechwayo's principal indunas were also there, watching the results of last Saturday's battle. Sir Bartle Frere will meet the principal boer representatives in the course of next week, and the result of this interview is anxiously awaited. Attempts have been made to tamper with the loyalty of the Swazi king, who, however, not only refused to listen to boer overtures, but even returned their accompanying present of two oxen, remarking that such communications could only be received through Captain M'Leod, political agent of the district.

The following, taken from the *Times of Natal*, continues the account of the varied operations carried on in connection with this column. The careful reader will not fail to observe by the *map* that the action of General Wood was from the north, or Transvaal side, of Zululand, as marked in the map, whilst General Crealock was moving from the south, or sea coast of operations; the design being to meet and concentrate their forces in the neighbourhood of Ulundi, the king's kraal, so that by this combined action they might the more effectually accomplish their object with the least loss.

WE have shifted camp again. Our new location, which is to be the first line of fortified camps with which, like the ancient Romans, we are marking the progress in the conquest of Zululand—Magwechana—is not more than two miles in a straight line from our last camping, and not more than twelve from Kambula; but it is so much in the right direction, for where I am writing I can see over a tolerably level foreground, right in the direction of Kechwayo's

kraal (famous landmark) ; Inhlazatye Mountain showing up its summit grandly over the shoulder of an unnamed ridge, which lies right across our direct path, assuming, as I do, that the Inhlazatye will be the point we shall make for in our march on Ulundi. We are not more than six miles from the camp of the 94th, at Conference Hill ; and, riding over there the other day, I found the fine young fellows of the regiment hard at work building a fort and laagered magazine. One begins to despair of a very speedy advance with all this pick and shovel work about one, and to regret that this column cannot be reinforced with 200 or 300 more cavalry and another regiment, and let slip for a *coup de main* at the Zulu monarch's stronghold. I have little doubt that our gallant chief would destroy it, more especially if Crealock advanced *pari passu*, and the two columns joined hands judiciously. How immensely it would shorten the war ! for we could then get our supplies by the D'Urban-Stanger line, or even utilise Port Durnford, which the naval folks seem at last to have found out, after a veteran, now in this camp, named Rathbone, had demonstrated its existence nearly thirty years ago.

We moved here on Monday, and strong fatigue parties at once set to work to intrench the laager, which is now complete, and they are now far advanced with a nice little two-company fort, which has been constructed on the most commanding point of the elevation on which the camp is situate. Our principal excitement lately has been the new arrivals. All the correspondents seem to be rapidly gravitating in this direction, the announcement of this being a flying column giving promise to the hopes of something being speedily undertaken. I fear, however, we shall have to wait yet for some time. We had a visit two days since from Colonel Reilly, R.A., who came over here to inspect Major Tremblett's excellent battery of artillery. I am sorry to say, however, that the gallant gentleman was unable to fulfil his duty, for he rode over from Utrecht on an English horse, which, not being seasoned to the dangers of veld-travelling, put its foot into an ant-bear hole, and threw its rider, who had his arm broken, and received some slighter injuries from the animal's trampling on him as it struggled to its feet. Major Tucker, of the 80th, too, is over here, and we hope before long to see the column reinforced by so many of the companies of his fine regiment as are avail-

able. Brevet-Major Chard, R.E., the hero of Rorke's Drift, I saw just now inspecting with Major Voysey, R.E., the new fort which we are putting up. Mr. Francis, of the *Times*, and Sir H. Hesketh are in camp, with Mr. Forbes, of the *Daily News*; but I don't think that any of them contemplate a long stay, as there is no immediate prospect of active operations. I am glad to say that the transport of the column is in process of considerable improvement. It has lately been taken over by Mr. Deputy-commissary Cootes, a most energetic and zealous officer, who has made the subject his study since he has been in South Africa; and, to judge from the style in which our last move was made, I am inclined to augur very favourably of the result of his rule. The time having expired of many of the officers of the Natal Native Contingent, we have lost several of them, the urgency of their private affairs making it impossible for them to incur the sacrifice which would be involved in serving to the end of a war of which the end cannot be predicted with any certainty. Two or three of the native contingent (Wood's Irregulars) left last night, and to-day Captain Vause, of the Natal Native Cavalry, leaves a corps in which he has done good service. I am so well assured that everything possible will be done to move at the earliest possible moment that I am less fretful under the heavy burden of our inaction than a good many men in camp. I was glad, however, to see that a couple of reconnaissances were made at the end of last week for the purpose of investigating the topography of the country in the direction of Ulundi, and determining which will be the best road to adopt.

It is scarcely necessary to say to the inhabitants of so young a colony as Natal that roads in Zululand—in the civilised sense of the term—there are none; but there are a great many more waggon and foot tracks than one would think probable in so savage a country; and those who made them, whether white men or black, exhibited an amount of judgment in avoiding the many natural obstacles of the territory, which does them great credit. My experience of South Africa is not extensive; but I have already come to the conclusion that when one of the native tracks is circuitous, it winds for a very good reason, and that the traveller will be wise not to attempt any short cuts. Even in cases where there is a waggon track, and also a bridle

path, saving miles, perhaps, in distance, I have generally found that the shorter road takes quite as long to travel, and its roughness takes more out of your horse. The roads which we are now most interested in are, of course, those leading to our objective point at Ulundi. Those who have the advantage of consulting the military map of Zululand recently compiled by the Intelligence Department of the quarter-master general's Department—a map which, though far from perfect, is good and reliable as far as it goes—will see that there are two roads laid down by which the northern force may move on to Kechwayo's kraal. The one starting, say, from Utrecht, goes by Balte Spruit to Conference Hill, where it turns eastward, and, crossing the Blood River at Laas Drift, runs south of the Khandi and Mukihlr hills through a fairly open country, dotted all the way with kraals, to the north of the Inhlazatye, whence it turns to the south-east, and runs past Woodwengo. The second road starts from Rorke's Drift, running a little south of east, passing just south of Isandhlwana Hill and camp, between Ispezi Hill on the south of Inhlabaumkosi on the north, running about eight miles south of Ibabananga, another famous landmark, crossing the Umlatusi and its tributaries, and then turning to the north-east it joins the Tugela-Etshowe road at the Uoule River, and, continuing to the north-east, some eighteen miles farther, unites at Woodweugo with the road which runs to the north of the Inhlazatye. General Wood's column could, of course, strike this northern road at Conference Hill, or rather to the west of the Nkundi Hill, which is in full view of the camp, but our straight course is obviously to the north of the Ingwe Mountain, and down the valley of the White Umvolosi to the spurs of the Inhlazatye, and then to the north or south of the Mountain according to which is the better road. Natives and Dutchmen now in camp who have been recently to Ulundi by this route assert that a good road exists, and that waggons trekking only six or seven miles a day could reach the king's kraal in eight or nine days. An impression seems to have prevailed, however, that a better route would be more to the south-west, skirting Ibabango, and striking the Rorke's Drift road about where it turns off to the north-east. The reconnaissance of this line of country took place first.

DEATH OF THE PRINCE IMPERIAL.

We now have to chronicle one of the saddest events connected with the Zulu War. The death of the Prince Imperial of France produced a profound sensation, not only amongst those more immediately concerned on the scene of action, but also throughout all the colonies of South Africa.

The writer was in Graham's Town when the news was first flashed by telegram from Zululand, a distance of, say, 600 miles from the seat of war. When the event was first made known every one looked grave, as though some sad calamity had occurred; not much less so than when the disaster of Isandhlwana became known. Each said to the other, 'I hope it is not true.' Confirmation or denial was looked for with intense anxiety. But as message after message arrived, it only confirmed the sad intelligence, each giving some new particulars as to the cause and manner of his death.

The following account gives in detail the circumstances connected with this tragic event, which, so far as the principal facts and circumstances allow, is complete and satisfactory. It was a great relief to know that the body was so quickly found, that it had not been mutilated beyond what was done according to Zulu custom, and that there were no evidences of unnecessary torture having been inflicted in his death.

That the direct heir of so distinguished a house as that of Napoleon the First should thus perish in a Zulu mealie garden, forsaken by his comrades, and despatched by the spear of a savage foe, is one of those events which can only find a solution in the providence of that Being who is wise in counsel and unerring in

action. The deepest sympathy was manifested by all parties in the distressing affliction which had thus befallen the widowed and bereaved mother ; and many prayers have ascended to heaven that she may obtain that Divine consolation which only God can give, and which alone can be a balm to the wounded spirit.

The body being recovered, to prepare that body for transmission to Europe, and despatch it thither, became the next part of the mournful duty of those on whom the responsibility devolved. It is needless to say that everything which reason could suggest, or money procure, was done to manifest respect for the deceased, and the deep sorrow which had befallen the land.

Pietermaritzburg, the metropolis of Natal, was the first town to which the remains were conveyed, the whole town, in mourning clad, manifesting deep emotion on the solemn occasion.

D'Urban, the seaport of Natal, put forth every demonstration of esteem and sorrow. The prince was more generally known at D'Urban than in other places ; their knowledge of his many excellences and aspiring hopes, dauntless courage and fair prospects, had endeared him to them in a manner which it could not do in other places ; and they were anxious to give every outward demonstration of their esteem and respect of which the occasion allowed. The accompanying engraving will best manifest how fully their sympathies and sorrows were called forth, and how deeply the whole community was moved in its expression of profound grief.

The body having been conveyed from D'Urban to Cape Town, the metropolis of South Africa, on its way to Europe, it was fitting that every attention should be



RECEPTION OF THE BODY OF THE PRINCE IMPERIAL AT D'URBAN.



paid to it there. We have the whole circumstantially described by an eye-witness in the following record :

FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF THE PRINCE IMPERIAL.

PROBABLY Simon's Bay has never presented so beautiful a scene as on Sunday morning, the 15th June, a day which was a notable one for the little seaport, and of which the inhabitants will always maintain a lively recollection. The sun shone with, if possible, more than its usual brilliancy, reflecting the shadows of the mountains in the waters of the bay as in a mirror. The sea was like a sheet of *lapis lazuli*, without a ripple, except for here and there a shoal of fish occasionally dimpling the surface. Two vessels of the Dutch flying squadron, the *Van Galen* and the *Silveren Kruis*, had come in on the previous evening, and early in the forenoon saluted the British flag. So still, however, was the atmosphere, that from the Kalk Bay road the smoke hanging over the town looked like a murky cloud. The other vessels of war lying in the bay, with yards pointed after the English naval fashion on similar occasions, flags half-mast high, were the *Active*, *Tenedos*, *Orontes*, newly painted a dull grey (naval mourning), and the guard-ship *Flora*, between which the constant passing and re-passing of boats and steam launches, each carrying a Union Jack half-mast high, gave the scene, in spite of the mournful nature of the preparations which were being made, quite a gay appearance. On shore everything was very quiet. There were but few people in the streets, mostly dressed in black ; and at the Club House was a knot of military officers who had accompanied Colonel Hassard from Cape Town. About noon, the *Boadicea* was signalled off Cape Point, and Staff-commodore Rowe went off in a steam launch to pilot her to her anchorage. By half-past one she had let go her anchor, about a couple of furlongs nearer the shore than the *Orontes*, and the signal was at once given : ' Prepare to receive the body. All officers to be on board *Orontes* by two o'clock.' On board that vessel a guard of honour of marines was drawn up on the poop, while Captain Kinahan, with his officers, remained near the gangway to receive visitors. Slightly forward of the gangway a mortuary chapel had been prepared, under the superintendence of the Rev. Dr.

Rooney, for the reception of the remains of the prince. This apartment was about twelve feet square, draped in black cloth, relieved with white satin, each panel having the imperial crown and the monogram 'N' raised on it in white everlasting flowers. At the end was a catafalque raised three steps from the floor, with Latin texts, worked in everlasting flowers, around the border; and at the foot of this dais, in a recess, was an altar, surmounted by a handsome crucifix and eight candles, and elaborately ornamented with purple and white satin and lace. Father Rooney will perform mass here every day during the voyage, for the repose of the soul of the lamented prince. First to arrive were the Dutch naval officers, Colonel Hassard and staff, and the officers from the English vessels. Several heads of departments preceded the ministry, who were represented on the occasion by Mr. Upington, the Attorney-General, and Mr. Laing, the Chief Commissioner of Works, the premier arriving later in the High Commissioner's pinnace. After the Roman Catholic bishop, attended by Father Dingran, had come on board, a salute of eighteen guns from the *Active* and *Van Galen* announced the approach of His Excellency the Governor, who was accompanied by Lady Frere and one of his daughters, Mr. Sprigg, and Captain Hallam Parr, the military secretary. In another boat were one of the Misses Frere and another lady, escorted by the Honourable Mr. Littleton, private secretary to the governor. The ships' boats, both of the English and Dutch squadrons, having anchored in two lines from the *Boadicea* to the *Orontes*, the signal was given, and the ceremony at once commenced, the *Active* firing twenty-three minute guns, the age of the deceased, and the band of the *Boadicea* playing 'Adeste Fideles,' and the 'Dead March in Saul.' The crews of the boats saluted in the customary way by standing barcheaded with oars aloft, and the scene, from whatever point it might be regarded, was at this moment one of impressive grandeur—at once grand and impressive from its very simplicity. Presently, in a barge towed by a steam launch at slow speed, came the coffin. The crew standing, while Father Rooney, at the head of the bier, recited a litany, the other occupants of the barge being the captain of the *Boadicea*, Colonel Pemberton, and the valet and groom of the prince. Alongside, the coffin was speedily hoisted by a tackle from the yardarm to

the deck of the *Orontes*, and placed on the shoulders of eight sailors. It was wrapped in the tricolour, and upon it lay an ebony and bronze cross, a larger cross of violets, and several wreaths of camellias and other choice flowers. The bishop here advanced with the attendant priests, and having sprinkled the coffin with holy water, proceeded to recite a short service for the dead, disturbed only by the booming of the minute guns, while all stood uncovered. The coffin was then borne into the chapel, and placed on the catafalque, when it was covered with a magnificent purple velvet pall trimmed with rich white silk. His Excellency and Lady Frere then entered, and her ladyship placed a splendid wreath on the coffin, an example so generously followed that in a few minutes it was almost hidden under a pile of immortelles and floral emblems, the large cross of violets which lay on the coffin in the boat being placed at the foot. This concluded the day's ceremonial, and the large number of officers and ladies present speedily dispersed, it being then half-past four, and many having to return to Cape Town. Considerable emotion was manifested in many instances. One in particular, a midshipman of the *Boadicea*, who knew the prince in Natal, and was said to be recovering from fever and dysentery, who injudiciously, considering his weak state of health, had been allowed to attend, gave way to uncontrollable grief. At sunset both the *Active* and *Tenedos* fired minute guns, until the shadows of night creeping over the bay shrouded the *Orontes* and her sad but precious freight from our sight. She was to have left about seven o'clock the same evening direct for Madeira, and thence to Portsmouth.

Thus closed the last funeral obsequies of the lamented young prince, so far as Africa was concerned, being, not only a prince of aspiring prospects, but the only son of his mother, and she was a widow.

DETAILS OF THE DEATH OF THE PRINCE IMPERIAL.

The correspondent of the *Times of Natal* writes from Nongwin River, June 4th :

THE sad intelligence of the death of the gallant young Prince Imperial will have become known to your readers. The event is

of such deep and widespread interest that I am sure you will be grateful for so much of the circumstances as we know. On Sunday last, then, a day when most civilised Christian nations were enjoying the festivities of one of the best observed holidays of the year, we here in Zululand were making a move in the direction of the enemy. We shifted early from Mundhla Hill, and after some little delay in getting down the steepest descent, at the end of what I may call the pass, and getting the large mass of our vehicles, nearly 300 in number, I believe, into three or four parallel lines for the convenience of laagering quickly, if need be, we pushed some six or seven miles, crossing by two drifts, which our strong force of Royal Engineers and native sappers enabled us to have made with great promptitude and efficiency, the first affluent of the Ityoyozi, flowing in from the north-west. We formed camp on the other bank for one night's stay only, and as soon as we were fairly in shape, General Wood, with the care and forethought which distinguishes him, rode on for half a dozen miles to inspect the road we should have to travel next day. He was accompanied by Colonel Buller, who knew the territory well, having pushed reconnaissances, some of which I have described to you, several times over it, and as far down the country as Habanago. The general, however, had not been nearly so far, and was naturally desirous of seeing for himself where his column had to go. They had ridden sharply for an hour, and were, by the general's estimate, about six miles from our camp, and about four or five from Isandhlwana Mountain, when they saw four or five white men riding as if for their lives under the hills on the right, making evidently for the camp of the other column. As soon as the fugitives saw the general and his escort, they changed their direction slightly, and came on to them at full gallop.

On arriving, they proved to be Captain Carey and four troopers of Bettington's Horse, all in a considerable state of agitation, as if they thought a Zulu *impi* was hard on their heels. As soon as they had collected their scattered senses, they stated in reply to the general's interrogations that they had been attacked by Zulus about five miles from the spot where they then were, the savages having come out of a mealie field close to where they had been off-saddled for an hour, and fired a volley into them. It was only when they were asked whether they lost any of their party that

the officer began to count, and then to the horror of the general announced that the Prince Imperial, two troopers, and a Kaffir were missing. It seems that the moment the Zulus showed, every man rushed for his horse, mounted, and made off, it being a case of *sauve qui peut*, for while, according to their own account, only six savages appeared from the mealies, no doubt, there were many more about. I believe Captain Carey got such a wiggling for his pusillanimous and un-officer-like behaviour as he is not likely to forget; but the mischief was done, and the general, by means of his field-glasses, saw three horses being led away about seven miles off, with an escort of twenty to thirty Zulus on foot. It was then getting towards 5 p.m., and was too late to attempt anything. Unhappily, all that could hope to be done was to recover the bodies of the victims, for the chance of any of them having escaped was too remote to be entertained. The general and Colonel Buller made their way sorrowfully back to their own camp, where the news spread like wild-fire; while the fugitives returned with the sorrowful story to their own column. I am still without a definite account of the transaction, but I believe the Kaffir that was with the party warned them that he saw Zulus in the mealie field, and that only then did they think of saddling up, the party having stopped in about as dangerous a position for a surprise as any that could be chosen in the whole country. It was the side of a hill easily accessible to the swift and sure-footed Zulus, thickly planted with mealie gardens, and cut up with sluits. It connects, I believe, by spurs, with the mountain range, inhabited by Sirayo, and a band of six or eight mounted men and thirty or forty footmen are known to infest the neighbourhood; for in one of Colonel Buller's reconnaissances, in which the prince himself took part, this very party made a show of defending the crest of a hill only to fly when horsemen got near; and the unfortunate prince fired a few shots at them as they were crossing the valley beneath, too far out of range, however, to give any chance of success. I have no doubt, whatever, that it was this party who surprised Captain Carey's little command, which was far too small to have ventured into so dangerous a neighbourhood. Of course, every one blames Lord Chelmsford for allowing the prince to go about, except with a sufficiently large party to prevent his running any unnecessary risk, but I believe it will turn out that his lord-

ship, whose ill-fortune seems to dog his footsteps, will be found much less culpable than many seem to imagine. The fact is, the young prince, being full of pluck and fond of adventure, desired to be wherever there was a chance of seeing a fight with the Zulus, and put himself forward in a way that provoked Lord Chelmsford's censure, and I am told received a prohibition to take part in any dangerous reconnaissances or scouting parties.

Of course, in his position as aide-de-camp to the Lieutenant-general commanding, it was no part of his duty to leave the person of his chief without express command ; and I am told that, feeling this was a check upon the indulgence of the sort of adventure in which he took most delight, he applied and succeeded in getting appointed to the Deputy-Quartermaster-General's Department, to which, from the perfect military education he had received at Woolwich, he was a welcome and useful addition, and where, from the nature of the work, he was more at liberty to seek the adventures he desired. It will probably turn out that he was engaged in some work for this department when he was cut off, and that blame rests with the superiors who allowed him to go with so insufficient an escort. I am told that the order under which he was acting specified that the escort was to consist of an officer and six troopers of Bettington's Horse and six Basutos, but that the latter most useful addition never turned up, and the party, therefore, proceeded without them. In all probability had those quick-sighted and sharp-witted natives been of the party, the catastrophe would never have occurred, for they are sufficiently near kin to the wily Zulu to be up to all his cunning tricks, and would never have off-saddled in so bad a position ; and I am quite sure, if they are anything like their countrymen attached to this column, no Zulus would have been able to come within a mile of them without their scenting them out and giving timely warning. On the following Whit-Monday morning we struck camp before daybreak, moving off with the first dawn of day. I breakfasted as soon after *reveill  * as a fire could be made, and saddling up started with the advanced guard of Natal Native Contingent and Raaff's Horse, who pushed miles ahead, sending out flanking parties to the highest ridges on the right and left of the line of advance. When within three miles of Isandhlwana Mountain, a well-defined landmark, consisting of a peaked hill and a table-

topped hill connected by a neck above the level of the surrounding plain ground, Commandants Raaff and Baker and their men turned off to the right to go and seek the body. I went with them, and saw that Captain Cochrane, with a few of his Natal Native Cavalry troopers, were moving on our right evidently with the same object, while over the hill in the direction of the other column, from the summit of which I had just before seen the brilliant flashes of the heliostat signal apparatus communicating, I presume, with General Wood, a few sparkling points glittered in the sun above the crest, soon resolving themselves into the steel tipped weapons and the fluttering pennons of a squadron of Lancers. As they came into view we saw they were accompanied by a squadron of Dragoons, the whole forming the escort of a searching party come out on the same errand as that on which we were bound. We, however, had just the start of them as Captain Cochrane had of us, and on crossing a bad spruit bed and sluit we set to work quartering the ground like a pack of hounds.

We had not long been on our sad quest before I heard a shout from a sluit, and almost at the same moment Commandant Raaff, who was not more than fifty yards from where I was riding, raised a cry which I knew at once meant that he had found what we were looking for. I rode to him at once, and saw the dead body of one of the unfortunate troopers, named Rogers, I believe, lying stark naked in the long grass, riddled with assagai stabs in the upper part of the chest, and with a gash in the abdomen, which always concludes the bloody work of a Zulu slaughter. Some thirty yards farther away from the mealie field, in a branch going off from the main sluit, lay the body of the second trooper, named Able, who was lying in the same sorry plight. A huge gash was made in the abdomen, but it was only through the flesh, none of the intestines being injured. At the first glance he too seemed to be naked, but his cord jacket and a woollen shirt were drawn up round his neck so high that they did not at once show. It appeared as if the Zulus, after killing the unfortunate man, had dragged him along the ground by his jacket and shirt, and left them where they had pulled them up. He had a number of wounds in the upper part of the chest, which were plainly visible, and one through the right hand, showing that he had fought for his life at close quarters. About the same distance lower down in the

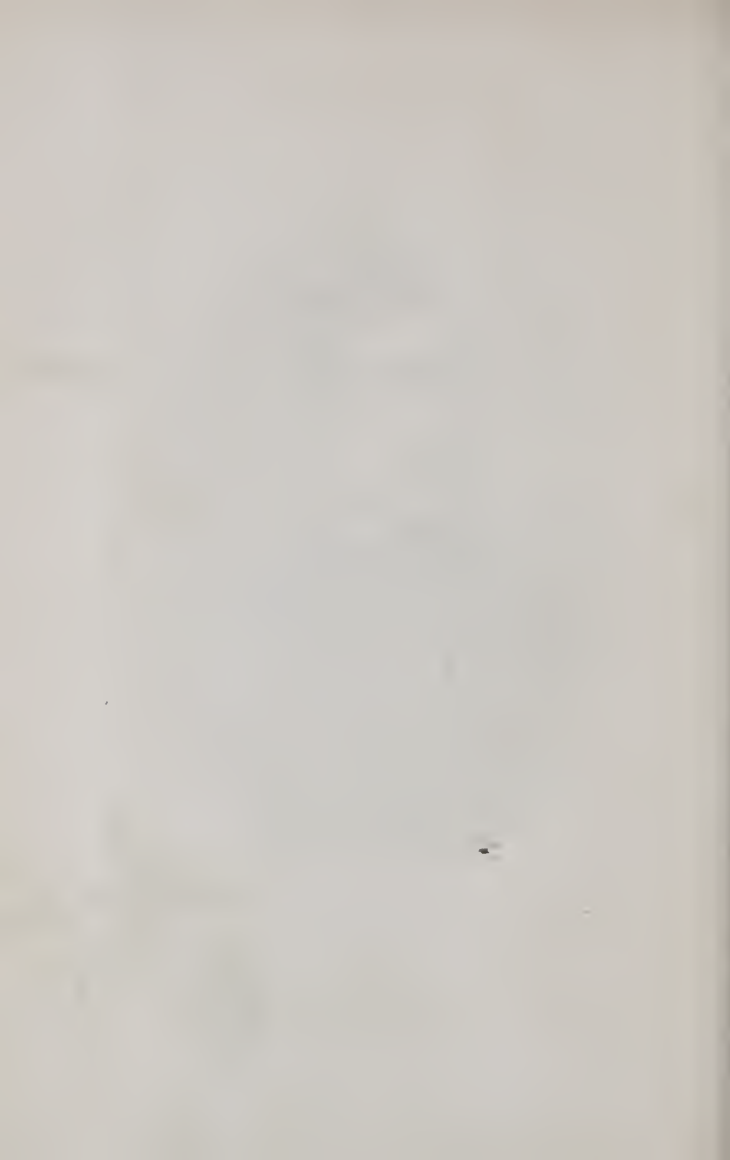
main sluit lay another body perfectly nude, with Captain Cochrane standing guard over it. I at once recognised it as the corpse of the ex-prince imperial of France, whom I have met frequently in England, and whose features were, of course, perfectly familiar to me. A few people gathered round, but no one was allowed to touch it, for the head-quarters party were close by, and on them, of course, devolved the sad duty of disposing of the remains.

In a few minutes a brilliant group of officers surrounded the corpse, including General Marshall, Colonel Drury-Lowe, officers of the staff, and surgeons. Surgeon-major Scott, specially deputed for the duty by Lord Chelmsford, at once took charge of the body, and proceeded to examine it superficially. Short of a *post mortem* examination, it would be impossible, of course, to speak with any exactitude, but there was one longish wound of the right breast which was evidently mortal, for the assagai had passed through the body, and the point had penetrated the skin of the back. There were two wounds in the left side also, which might well be mortal, and less serious wounds all over the upper part of the chest, and one in the right thigh. The right eye was out, but whether by the thrust of an assagai or by the impact of a bullet of some kind it was impossible to say. If a bullet or sling, it could not have been projected with any force, for it remained in the head, the scalp being intact. There was a long gash in the abdomen, exposing the intestines, which were, as in the case of the trooper, uninjured. Close by the left shoulder of the corpse, half trodden in the bloody mire, was a sock and a pair of spurs, which had evidently belonged to the prince, and round his neck was found, when Dr. Scott moved the body, a small gold chain holding a few gold and stone trinkets. I am inclined to think that Zulu superstition had something to do with this relic being left. The witch doctors carry their magic *materia medica* round the neck very much after the same fashion, and I am pretty sure that they looked upon the bunch of trinkets as the prince's witch apparatus, and thought it best to have nothing to do with it. The gash, too, in the abdomen is not, I feel assured, inflicted with any idea of mutilating the corpse of the slain enemy, but simply because it is a belief amongst them that if this final *coup* is not given, and the body swells, as it would by the generation of the gases of decomposition, the warrior who had neglected this pre-



THE PRINCE IMPERIAL.

From a Photograph taken at D'Urban.



caution is destined to die himself by his body swelling. Apart from this gash, which was in every case inflicted after death, for no blood had flowed, there was no mutilation whatever. Many of the wounds were so slight that I think they, too, must have been inflicted after death, all the members of the party probably 'washing their spears,' in pursuance of some ceremonial regulation on the subject of a dead enemy. After completing his examination, Dr. Scott had the body enveloped in a white cotton blanket that had been used as a saddle cloth, and then a bier was improvised by rolling a couple of lances longwise in the sides of a horse-blanket, two more lances being then lashed with reims crosswise at the head and feet of the bearers. The body was laid on this, and four Lancers bore it up-hill towards the camp, escorted by a squadron of their comrades with the headquarters party, I am sure I may say sincere mourners. While the party moved to the point where an ambulance was in waiting to receive the body, there was a message received from our videttes on the hill above that two Zulus had been seen to leave the sluit and hide in the mealies. On this the squadron of Dragoons formed line, which was prolonged by Cochrane's natives and a few civilian correspondents, both from Wood's and the headquarters columns. We then beat every inch of the ground, but no Zulus broke cover, and the only way I can account for their escape is that they had crept into the mealie pit of a cattle kraal which we neglected to search, the idea not occurring to me till afterwards. The other two bodies were brought and laid together by a cairn of stones, which was erected to mark the exact spot where the prince was found, and later in the day they were buried by a fatigue party which was sent from our camp, the chaplain-general of South Africa, the Rev. Mr. Coar, reading the burial service over them. Our column was on trek while the search and discovery were being made, and in the afternoon encamped on the banks of the Ityobyosi, just under the Enzhlwan, the operation being coolly watched from the summit of the hill over the spot where the prince was killed by the party I believe who were the perpetrators of the tragedy. There were six or eight mounted men, one on a grey horse, and twenty to thirty footmen, who, having stared their fill at a distance of not more than two miles, then took their departure.

Next day we again 'trekked,' but only to shift to the right bank

of the Ityobyози, and to-day we made another short trek to the southern side of the Mangwini River, about two miles beyond the Enzhlanwan. I went, while the operation was going on, with the advanced guard, under Colonel Buller, about seven miles to the front, where we made a demonstration with mounted men, which brought out some 1,500 Zulus from amongst the hills, forming the advance guard of what is believed to be a considerable *impi*. They pursued us some little distance as we retired, and a few of us tried to draw them on, while Colonel Buller rode back for more mounted men. They came to the top of the first rise, and we exchanged long shots, without hurt, I fear, on either side, and then retired. There is evidently a force not far in front of us, and a collision is probably not far off. On returning to camp from a long day's riding I found that Kechwayo had at last sent messengers to General Wood. I have not yet heard their names, but it is suggested that they are not chiefs of any importance, and it is probably only a further *ruse* of Kechwayo's to gain time. Happily Lord Chelmsford is in camp, so that General Wood can act without delay. The universal wish is that Kechwayo may not accept our conditions, and that in the interest of the future of South Africa we may fight the matter out, and conquer the wily Zulu by force of arms, or he will never be persuaded he was not the victor and the master of the situation.

After the death of the Prince Imperial, the next event of moment was the appointment of Sir Garnet Wolseley as commander-in-chief of the Zulu campaign, investing him with supreme authority in Natal, the Transvaal, and Zululand. By this act of the imperial government Lord Chelmsford was superseded in the command of the army and Sir Bartle Frere of the chief commissionership of those parts of country. The news of Sir Garnet's appointment produced some sensation, and if all did not acquiesce in the superseding of Lord Chelmsford, they were profoundly impressed with the conviction that the imperial government put forth their best man, with his able staff, and that all that could

be done to bring the war to a speedy and honourable close was done. The movements of Sir Garnet were so expeditious, that he was almost the bearer of the news of his own appointment.

The arrival of Sir Garnet at once put new life and energy into all parts and departments of the service, so as to make some decisive demonstration before the general who had been so long engaged in this disastrous war should transfer his command to his successor; so that by the time Sir Garnet set his foot upon South African soil, the arrangements for entering Zululand from the northern border were complete.

There are certain periods or epochs in the life of men which 'make or mar the man,' especially so in the case of persons high in office, whether in the civil or military department. This was one of those events in the high official career of Lord Chelmsford. The war hitherto had been one of great anxiety and labour, attended with a lamentable loss of life and vast expenditure, with but little real advantage gained. If the general could now perform a signal act by which to inflict decided and permanent damage on the foe, his name might yet be transmitted with honour to posterity. The opportunity was within his reach; Ulundi, the residence of the great king of the Amazulu nation, was before him, and the renowned Kechwayo close at hand. This, then, was the moment for him, his officers, and men to put forth the utmost effort. His long experience of the character of the foe and the nature of the country in which his troops had to act, was of great advantage to him. He was ably supported by officers of great valour and large experience. Wood, Buller, Newdigate, and Beresford, who was the first to enter

Ulundi, were among the number; whilst the men were well in hand to act with courage and valour under able leaders. Three days were allowed for the great king to make his submission, at the expiration of which, if not complied with, the march on the capital was to be made. During this time Kechwayo made no signs of surrender, but was evidently determined to contest his throne and capital in desperate fight. The memorable day opened; skirmishing had taken place the evening before, preparatory to the combined attack, which was every way successful; the details are thus given by the correspondent of one of the colonial papers.

The Amazulu fought with desperate courage and determination, but a host of naked savages were unable to stand before this tempest of shot and shell and lance; and hence, after herculean efforts, they first wavered, then a united dash was made upon them by the 17th Lancers and the remainder of the mounted men, when those who were not slain fled. The number of killed and wounded on the part of the English and native army was comparatively small; but when it is remembered that they fought against such desperate odds in the long ranges of artillery and Gatling guns, the number proves that they, the Amazulu, fought with the utmost determination.

On the part of the native levies engaged as belonging to Natal, a correspondent writes, 'It must be remembered that the Natal Kaffirs are, without exception, the descendants of refugees from Zululand.' This is wholly incorrect, as shown and proved in my *History of Natal*, when, from actual statistics taken by parties who knew the whole, it is proved that the larger proportion of the natives residing in Natal are the descendants of

the remnants of those tribes who dwelt there when Utshaka commenced his conquering career.

The following telegraphic despatch from Lord Chelmsford gives an account of the taking of Ulundi :

KECHWAYO not having complied with my demands by noon, yesterday, July 3rd, and having fired heavily on the troops at the water, I returned the 114 cattle he had sent in, and ordered a reconnaissance to be made by the mounted force under Colonel Buller. This was effectually made, and caused the Zulu army to advance and show itself. This morning a force under my command, consisting of the 2nd division under Major-general Newdigate, numbering 1,870 Europeans, 530 natives, and eight guns, and the flying column under Brigadier-general Wood, numbering 2,192 Europeans and — natives, four guns, and two Gatlings, crossed the Umvelusi River at 6.15, and marching in a hollow square with the ammunition and entrenching tool carts and bearer company in its centre, reached an excellent position between Nodwengo and Ulundi about half-past eight a.m. This had been observed by Colonel Buller the day before. Our fortified camp, on the right bank of the Umvelusi River, was left with a garrison of about 900 Europeans, 250 natives, and one Gatling gun, under Colonel Bellairs. Soon after half-past seven the Zulu army was seen leaving its bivouacs, and advancing on every side. The engagement was shortly after commenced by the mounted men. By nine o'clock the attack was fully developed, at half-past nine the enemy wavered, the 17th Lancers, followed by the remainder of the mounted men, attacked them, and a general rout ensued. The prisoners stated Kechwayo was personally in command, and had made the arrangements himself, and that he witnessed the flight from Likazi Kraal, and that twelve regiments took part in it. If so, 20,000 men attacked us. It is impossible to estimate with any correctness the loss of the enemy, owing to the extent of country over which they attacked and retreated, but it could not have been less, I consider, than 1,000 killed. By noon Ulundi was in flames, and during the day all military kraals of the Zulu army and in the valley of the Umvelusi were destroyed. At two p.m., the return march to the camp of the column commenced. The behaviour of the troops under my command was extremely

satisfactory. Their steadiness under a complete belt of fire was remarkable. The dash and enterprise of the mounted branches was all that could be wished, and the fire of the artillery very good. A portion of the Zulu force approached our fortified camp, and at one time threatened to attack it. The native contingent forming a part of the garrison were sent out after the action, and assisted in the pursuit. As I have fully accomplished the object for which I advanced, I consider I shall now be best carrying out Sir Garnet Wolseley's instructions by moving at once to Entongoniti, and thence towards Kwamagwasa. I shall send back a portion of this force with the empty waggons for supplies which are now ready at Fort Marshall. I beg to forward a list of casualties.

Killed—2nd division: Captain Wyatt-Edgell, Farrier-sergeant Taylor, 17th Lancers. Corporal Tomkinson, Private Coutes, 58th regiment. Private Kent, 94th regiment. Trooper Lifona, Shepstone's Horse. Flying column: Corporal Carter, Royal Artillery. Bugler J. Burns, Private W. Birdley, 13th regiment. Private Floyd, 80th regiment. Trooper Jonas, Raaff's Horse.

Dangerously wounded—2nd division: Troopers Jones and Charles Waites, 17th Lancers. Privates H. Yalders and W. Benner, 21st regiment. Privates N. Fash, W. Stewart, and M. Marony, 58th regiment.. Private Mazaza, Shepstone's Horse.

Severely wounded—Major Winsloe, Privates Dowdle, G. Brown, F. Fidler, J. Doveney, 21st regiment. Major Bond, Lieutenant Didenrool, Sergeant Piper, Privates Cotterrill, H. Howie, W. Severett, 58th regiment. Lieutenant Jenkins, 17th Lancers. Lieutenant Phipps, 1-24th regiment. Driver Breman, Royal Artillery. Hospital-bearer Mubique.

Slightly wounded—Captain Honourable Catton and Lieutenant James, Scots Greys. Lieutenant A. B. Milne, Royal Navy. Trooper J. Keyan, 17th Lancers. Privates Aly, 1-24th regiment, and H. Murtah, 94th regiment. Lieutenant Jenkins, Natal, Native Contingent.

Flying column: Dangerously wounded—Lieutenant Pardoe. Privates J. Davis and W. Shepstone, and Bugler M. Cockling, 13th regiment. Gunner J. Morton, Royal Artillery. Privates P. Talley and W. Hunt, 80th regiment. Trooper Leagdo, Mounted Basutos.

Severely wounded—Gunner W. Morshead, Royal Artillery. Sergeant R. Wood, Royal Engineers. Privates J. Bourne, H. Owens, C. Johnson, W. Heit, and J. Ouring, 13th regiment. Sergeant O'Neil, Privates A. Beecroft and M. Duffey, 80th regiment. Private J. Flood, 90th regiment. Trooper P. Lagos, Baker's Horse. Captain Hurber and Lieutenant Cowdell, Wood's Irregulars. Trooper Salein, Mounted Basutos.

Slightly wounded—Private P. Stokes, 13th regiment.

I quote the following letter, taken from the *Natal Mercury*, which gives a lively description of varied scenes and circumstances which have occurred since the great success of Ulundi:

FORT NAPOLEON, ZULULAND.

SIR,—Being a member of that profession which had for its object the relief of suffering humanity, and attached to her Majesty's forces now serving in Zululand, I am in a position of sending you some news I trust may interest a few of your numerous readers. This place is garrisoned by one company of the Buffs, two commissioned and two non-commissioned officers; it is a small but splendidly situated fort, its sanitary condition all that can be desired, and the health and spirits of the men excellent.

Some time ago you were informed, I presume, that a number of Zulus with their chiefs, women, children, arms, and cattle, called here to make 'submission meet' to the Queen's authority. The gallant colonel then commanding the fort sent them on to headquarters, where the ceremony of laying down their arms at the feet of the general was one of interest. I was stationed at Point Durnford when this ceremony took place. A grand parade was made, a thrilling oration was delivered, in which the captives were told 'they were good men, but that we were better,' 'that they were beaten in fair fight,' &c. Portuguese, British, and Zulu arms lay beneath the triumphant gaze of the general; swords were drawn, a band played, prancing steeds were reported on the 'Umlalasi plain,' gorgeous uniforms glittered in the sun, and the still more gorgeous tints of the peacock's tail decorated the helmets of a select few. The Zulus, with the ex-

ception of their three chiefs, squatted on the grass, and appeared to me to take as little interest in the proceedings as two Kaffir dogs that were engaged in an amicable gamble close to a heap of assagais. The event seemed less like a meek submission than a desire on our part to convert the affair into a loud and blustering surrender. John Dunn distributed passes affording protection to the vanquished, and as soon as that office was complete, the Zulus at once departed, 'seeking pastures new.'

The transport of the sick from the hospital marquee at Point Durnford was an interesting sight; they were taken in ambulance waggons to the beach, then placed on the backs of sturdy, hare-legged sailors, and borne on their shoulders through the surf to the lighter, and thence to the steamboat destined for D'Urban. I must here say something of the very excellent training Commandant Barton exercises over the battalion of native contingent placed under his charge, for a more well-behaved or finer set of fellows I have seldom seen. It is true they are sometimes inclined to exercise their vocal abilities to a very considerable extent, often too on the line of march; but it has always been customary for them to do so, and no doubt in time they will discard many habits which we consider objectionable. As regards their singing qualities, I can only speak of their choruses, and I must say I was perfectly entranced with the unison of their rich, deep, and mellow notes. On one occasion I went to witness a moonlight war-dance of the Natal Native Contingent at Point Durnford, and I fancy it has not often fallen to the lot of Englishmen to see so thorough a combination of first-class singing, dancing, jumping, clicking, whistling, and tumbling simultaneously accomplished. The 13th of this month was an interesting one in this little fort; it was Sunday, a day of peace and rest, though in the enemy's country, and we entertained no less personages than Prince Dabulamanzi and the P.M.O. for South Africa. The Zulu chief shook hands warmly with each of us, had some preserved corn beef, some lime-juice and water, and some coffee, then a smoke from a pipe presented to him by a lieutenant of the Buffs stationed here, bearing the donor's name and coat-of-arms on the bowl; during his repast he held his stick between his toes. He was perfectly at home, and seemed to thoroughly appreciate our efforts to entertain him as hospitably as we could; promised us assagais

and shields as tokens of his gratitude and reminiscences of the campaign. I could not help calling to mind the moment I saw this great chief a present I received some months ago of a black cat when stationed at Fort Pearson. I called this cat Dabulamanzi, and placed an ornament round its neck, and to a certain extent it did resemble its illustrious namesake, not alone in facial aspect, but in colour, antics, and attire.

I was delighted to learn from your paper some time back that the sick are to be tended by 'sisters'—of course under the supervision of medical men. I have seen the result of this work both in Turkey, Russia, and Bulgaria, under most trying circumstances, and all who witnessed their efforts know that no tongue or pen could sufficiently laud their conduct. The name of the Right Honourable Vicountess Strangford will always be remembered with honour in Europe for the services she rendered to the sick and wounded in the Russo-Turkish war. Her nurses were always indefatigable in their zeal, and though it is unfortunate that the same field is open for the exercise of their talents, still it is most fortunate that these good ladies have appeared, even though late upon the scene. So far as my idea goes the Zulu soldier is infinitely superior to the Turkish, Russian, or English, as regards strength, constitution, physique, power of endurance and discipline; he however lacks all those great qualities with which education may subsequently endow him.

The scenery in this neighbourhood is very fine indeed, and at night it is in many places simply like fairyland, long chains of grass fire illumine the immense plains. On the night of the 15th, when in company with a lieutenant of the Buffs, some distance outside the fort, we estimated one of these fires to be about five miles in length. We watched it some time till its brilliancy became extinct, and we found ourselves in a laager about three-quarters of a mile from the fort; and though my European servant and a native, both of whom were with us and knew the place well, taxed all their energies, we were unable to discover the way to our tents until after a lapse of about four hours. The days here go by with dullness; indeed, there is nothing to enliven the monotony unless it be when the runners come in with the mail bags, then there is a little excitement in the search for letters; but with this little excitement comes a lot of disappointment, for

if a communication is discovered to be addressed to one of us, it turns out to be of an official character. These Zulu runners never call Point Durnford by any other name than 'John Durnford.' When night comes on it is a relief, for we then adjourn to the 'Napoleon Alexander' club. You can imagine how select it is when I say there are but four members; but then it is a remarkable coincidence that there are but four officers here, and each is a member. The club derives its title from the name of the fort, and that of its present gallant commander; it is also curious that there is a bye-law to the effect that all games of cards are forbidden except 'Nap.' We shall, however, sir, with pleasure elect you as honorary member, and be happy to allow your paper to lay on the table of our time-honoured club as our chief colonial journal.

I am, &c.,

L. H.

As an interlude by way of contrast between the peaceful achievements of the Gospel and the 'horrid alarum of war,' I introduce the following piece of information relative to the school at Umvoti. The Rev. Aldin Grout, the father of this station, was a personal friend of the writer, and I visited the station when it was passing through some of its first struggles for existence. Gradual growth and development have brought about the recorded results.

THE UMVOTI MISSION STATION.

INTERESTING PROCEEDINGS.

THE native children at the Umvoti Mission Station, and the children from the kraal schools in the vicinity, closed the half school year by a service of song in English and Zulu, interspersed with speeches from various Missionaries present, on Sunday afternoon, and on Monday by an examination of the schools, and a treat for them.

The church was neatly decorated with evergreen and mottoes. When each school was seated with its teacher, it was an interesting sight to see the large church half filled with nearly three hundred clean, dressed, happy-faced children. On Sunday after-

noon a number of the pieces were very beautifully sung. On Monday morning the schools all formed in procession, and each, carrying a pretty banner with motto, marched to the church, where, on entering, they saw a fine large tree, which held the prizes to be given. The exercises of the day were varied by recitations in English and Zulu, by singing, and examination of classes. Quite a number of white people were present ; all seemed interested and pleased. Those who could understand the Zulu were much surprised at the promptness with which the kraal children read and answered questions asked them, either by visitors or the Missionary. About seventy-five of the children live at the station with their parents ; the rest live in the kraals, and attend schools near their homes, five of which schools have been established from two to eight miles in different directions from the station, and are taught by native teachers, under the supervision of Miss Hance. When the programme for the forenoon had been gone through, the pupils, with their teachers, repaired to the schoolroom, where, in a most orderly way, the children had passed to them sandwiches, oranges, cakes, and coffee, after which they went back to the church to receive their prizes. These were given according to the number of days each child had been in school. Bright eyes, happy faces and voices seemed to fill the church for a little time. After the distribution of prizes, singing hushed into quiet those who found it difficult to keep still ; then prayer was offered by the Missionary, the Rev. D. Rood. The children rose and recited a farewell piece ; then, at a signal from their teachers, said, '*Si ya bonga, inkosazana,*' and so closed the proceedings of a most happy day for nearly three hundred native children twenty miles from the Zulu border.

This history is brought down to August, 1879, at which time the following *résumé*, from the *Natal Mercury* of August 4th, gives a clear and brief account of the past and gives some intimation of the probable future.

FOUR weeks of perfect peace, so far as any hostile movements are considered, yield little in the way of sensational incident for a retrospective record. Not a shot has been fired, nor has a life

been sacrificed since a month ago we reviewed the past. It cannot be said that the war is over, for our forces are again advancing into Zululand. It cannot be said that war still prevails, as on neither side are there evidences of active hostility. Many Zulus have made submission, but Kechwayo is still—somewhere. Yet more Zulus have failed to surrender themselves, but none of them seem disposed to show fight. There are numbers of rumours. One day we hear that Kechwayo has sent in to ask if his life will be spared should he surrender. On the next day we are told that he has sent in a definite message to the effect that he means to fight still, that he can fight still, and that he has 25,000 warriors still at his beck and call. We have, as we write, no testimony confirmatory of this last report, but there is an air of possibility, if not of probability about it. Had Kechwayo been thoroughly anxious to surrender, he could have done so weeks ago. We entirely discredit the story that he is in the Umhlatusi Valley. Had he been there we should certainly have had ere this more practical proofs of submission. Our forces are stationed at St. Paul's, and at Kwanakwaza, both of which posts are beyond the Umhlatusi, and it is not likely that the king would place himself within the line of those stations unless he was deliberately prepared unreservedly to give in. So little intelligence now leaks out concerning either our immediate movements or those of the Zulus, that we are entirely adrift in an atmosphere of conjecture. We can only retire upon the suggestions of past knowledge and of local experience. We are compelled to look back in order to form an opinion as to that which is likely to take place in the future. It is the light shed by what has been that must indicate what is to be. We review the history of the war. There was a great battle at Isandhlwana on January 22nd, and after it the Zulus shrank back into their shells, and only fought again when we advanced against them at the end of March. Then came another interval of repose, during which we did nothing, and it was again, at the end of three months, broken by the engagement at Ulundi. After that victorious encounter we again fell back, while the interesting process of changing horses in the stream was being pursued, and we are now, a month afterwards, considering what the next scene in the drama is to be. The Zulus, no doubt, by this time, look

upon our Fabian tactics as part of our national military strategy. We have accustomed them to the belief that we never do follow up with any promptitude our successes, or attempt with any vigour to retrieve our reverses. It is quite possible, therefore, that Kechwayo and the chief men about him have been so misled by our proceedings after the battle of Ulundi, as to believe that we shall not press resistance further. It is highly probable that they have been counselled by influential advisers to continue the struggle ; that they have been told that if they only continue to show a resolute front a little longer, they may make their own terms. If Mr. O'Donnell and Mr. Parnell have any representatives in Natal, we are quite sure that they will not hesitate to urge upon the Zulu king and his counsellors the wisdom of adopting such a course.

A week or two, however, or even a few days, must soon settle the question as to what Kechwayo's real intentions are. Sir Garnet Wolseley left Maritzburg for Emtongjaneni, a point ten miles from Ulundi, on July 30. He will be there on the 6th of August. He is the last man to lose time. Vacillation and incertitude are qualities that he has got to be credited with. He has not started in a hurry. The old divisions have been broken up, and two new columns substituted. He has selected his men. The regiments employed have had most of the 'weeds' picked out of them. It is true that the bluejackets and marines, of all the forces in the field those that were best fitted for the work, have been dispensed with—as we venture to think prematurely—but the other troops that are being employed in Zululand have been chosen with due regard to their efficiency and trustworthiness. Sir Garnet retains the services of the 57th, 80th, and 90th regiments, all of which are long service men as service goes nowadays. For reasons that we have not heard explained, he has determined to keep the Dragoons, and send back the Lancers, retaining the horses of the latter for the use of their brother cavalrymen. A very large proportion of the irregular horsemen have been disbanded. All but two troops of Lonsdale's Horse, one of the costliest bodies of mounted soldiers ever raised in South Africa, Baker's Horse, a very effective body of hard, rough and ready volunteers, and a certain number of the Frontier Light Horse, have been dismissed and sent home. On his arrival at

Emtonjancni, 'the highest point in Zululand,' Sir Garnet will have in his rear a chain of fortified camps, extending both to the west and east, and farther than that he will have two compact and movable columns, of about 2,500 men each, representing every branch of the service wherewith to operate against the enemy.

The campaign, therefore, reopens with much in its favour. There is first a defeated and dispirited enemy. There is next a well defended rear. There is also a cleared and a virtually conquered country behind him. We except, of course, that portion of Zululand which lies opposite Krantzkop. There no military operations of any importance have yet taken place, and the only Zulus who have succeeded in an inroad into Natal are still, for aught we know to the contrary, living at peace with the cattle they took from our own loyal natives. The losses borne by these poor people, seventy of whose kraals were burnt, a thousand of whose cattle were seized, and several of whose lives were lost, form a question which will have to be seriously considered when the final settlement of accounts in connection with the Zulu War comes to be undertaken.

In any case it seems certain that the arena of war will be well removed from the immediate frontier of Natal. Lord Chelmsford's operations succeeded in subduing or pacifying most if not all the tribes living just over the border. If Kechwayo fights again it will probably be either at the heads of the Umvelusi, or in the broken country beyond the 'Black' branch of that river. He is shrewd enough to know that the farther away from their base he can draw our troops, the better it will be for himself. He has lost the traditional standing ground at Ulundi, and has now all South-east Africa to range over for a future abiding place. 'No pent-up Utica contracts his power.' He may go to Sekukuni, to Umzeila, to Lobengule, without running any immediate risk or being interrupted by a hostile force. He might even fall back beyond the Zambesi, and make common cause with Mirambo on the shores of Tanganyika, or with the Emperor of Ugundi himself. As it is indispensable to the abiding settlement of peace in Zululand that Kechwayo should be effectually out of the way, the farther he may be found from the circle of possible interference in South African affairs, the

better chance will there be for the enforcement of a stable policy.

All our information from the border and to Zululand goes to show that the fear of Kechwayo, and the dread of his vengeance, are still overpowering influences with even the Zulus who have surrendered. Dabulamanzi's attitude and proceedings, we may also remark, are sufficiently equivocal to make it desirable that he should be kept under very strict surveillance, if not in positive confinement, at any rate till the war is over.

To every man of practical experience it becomes more and more apparent that nothing short of annexation will secure Zululand from the chances of future disaster, and Great Britain from the possibility of future wars. We do not hesitate to say that whatever sort of peace may be arrived at, the virtual supremacy of British rule over the Zulus must inevitably be established. Sir Garnet has proclaimed as much already. He has said without qualification that Kechwayo has ceased to reign, and that henceforward there will be no king in Zululand. What does that mean? There must be sovereignty somewhere, and where else can it be reposed except in the British Queen? The outcry raised against the phrase 'annexation' is dishonest and unworthy—dishonest because it means the exercise of rule without the acceptance of its obligations; and unworthy because it ill comports with the traditions and dignity of a nation which has not hesitated during the last century to 'annex' territories in all parts of the uncivilised or uninhabited world, when it was conducive to the interests of England, and through England of Christianity and mankind, to do so.

The conclusion of the Zulu War is the capture of the renowned Kechwayo, king of the Amazulu. With him the dynasty of the great Amazulu chiefs must cease, and be a thing of the past. Those who desire to have their whole history before them will need to obtain my work, *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*, in which one hundred and thirty-five pages give the details of every remarkable event from the time that Utshaka was a boy rising into manhood, organising

his armies, achieving his conquests, scattering his foes, and making his name a terror among all the South African races, until he was assassinated by his treacherous brother Undingaan. Whatever may be thought and said upon the subject of the prowess and terrible onslaught of these fierce savage warriors, inflicting disasters of great magnitude upon the English, they have proved, by the sad events recorded in these pages, that they possessed courage and discipline of a very high order, by which they were prepared to rush up to the cannon's mouth, and only when mown down by the deadly sweep of artillery would halt, recoil, and their decimated ranks and shattered forces make a retreat. 'To conquer or to die,' was their watchword, and the numbers of the slain are unknown and untold.

After the defeat of the Amazulu and the burning of the king's kraal at Ulundi, Sir Garnet Wolseley gave no quarter and allowed no time for Kechwayo to rally his remaining loyal followers, as there were a number who clung to him to the last. The pursuit was prompt and rapid, no breathing time was allowed until the prey was secured. This was effected on the 28th of August, in the heart of the N'gome Forest, by Major Marter. 'It is officially stated that Lord Gifford was watching the kraal wherein he knew Kechwayo to be, intending to capture the king that night, when Major Marter, in charge of the King's Dragoon Guards patrol, surprised the kraal from an opposite direction, and captured the king without resistance.' The king surrendered to Marter in person.

All the important chiefs having now surrendered, and the king being secured, the settlement of the country is to take place without delay. Sir Garnet Wolseley

will take immediate steps for this purpose, will divide the land into districts, and establish such local government as may appear most suitable for the preservation of peace and the full authority of the British government. Doubtless mistakes will be made, and some measures adopted which may have to be altered in the details of working, but it will be 'the beginning of the end.' British rule will be established, and, as a vigorous government will be in operation, gradually the chaos will be reduced to order, the arts of civilised life be introduced, the work of Christian Missions be brought into operation, until, ultimately, it is hoped that peace and order, prosperity and security may dwell in the land.

Having presented before the eye of the reader a number of great historical facts connected with the Zulu War and the country in which it has been carried on, there are some general questions of great magnitude arising out of the whole which call for consideration. As before stated, there has been a diversity of opinion as to whether just and sufficient cause existed for the British government to engage in the Zulu War. Many think that there was not. This view has been taken by a number of persons in South Africa, as well as in England, and the advocates of it have had some ground for the views they have advocated, whether in newspapers or in other ways.

As to the immediate cause of the war, the facts and processes recorded in this volume will probably establish the impression that there was not sufficient cause for the British government to rush into this war at the present time. The government was in duty bound to

settle the land question, and to demand sufficient restitution and punishment of the parties engaged in taking Zulus from the colony and putting them to death. But when the great meeting was held of the commissioners of the English government on the one part and the indunas (councillors) of the Amazulu on the other part, to treat upon the subject of the '*ultimatum*,' the indunas were evidently relieved when the first part was explained to them, as it was as favourable, or more so, than they had anticipated, and admitted of adjustment; but when, in the ultimatum, the demand was made for the king of the Amazulu to break up his army, and destroy the marriage law, these sweeping demands involved, not merely the destruction of the national independence, but an entire revolution in their national existence, for which they were not prepared. This was instantly seen by the shrewd Amazulu indunas, and they begged for time to consult with their king, &c., but were told that they were not there to consult but to submit to an absolute and final demand. If this mode of procedure should be sanctioned and become general, then all national independence must cease to exist, and the strongest must simply dictate and enforce their own terms, whilst 'the weakest go to the wall.'

Under these circumstances, the reasons upon which these demands were made need to be considered to see whether they are sufficient to justify and sustain such interference. The reasons assigned are that the existence of this army was a constant menace to both the Natal and the Transvaal colonies; but it may be fairly objected that menace is not sufficient to justify rushing into war, there must be some *overt act* of breaking the peace. It is said that this was done in the land question, and the

murder of persons seized in the colony and put to death; but on these questions the offending parties were prepared to submit to punishment, and were evidently relieved when the terms were explained, those terms being more favourable than were expected. So that, on their part, there was a desire for peace and not for war; and arms were taken up by the English, not to repel invasion, but to enforce demands at the point of the sword, which was done, not on British territory, but on Zulu soil.

The other reason assigned is that of humanity, being that of arresting the course of suffering and death on the part of the Amazulu despot. This motive, in itself, is very creditable and praiseworthy, and so far as diplomacy and other means could do it, it ought to be done; but was it a sufficient cause for the British to step in and deprive the king and nation of their independence? is the question. The Amazulu king holds that he has a right to govern his own people, in his own country, in his own way, as the governor of Natal has a right to do with British subjects. I do not attempt to answer this question or solve this difficulty, but it is evidently one which deals with the gist of the case, and one upon which there will be diversity of opinion.

I have thus put the case, I think, fairly and clearly, in order that both sides of the questions may have due consideration and weight; and I am free to admit that if no other consideration existed for the cause of the war than that which is generally offered, I should be bound to cast my evidence on the side of those who say that the cause is not sufficient. But there are facts and considerations which lie much deeper and extend much farther than those which may appear on the surface.

The Christian philosopher and true statesman must look beyond local interests, which are bounded by present exigencies. He must place in the scale present transpiring events with future final results. And if he is a man of true Christian principles he must acknowledge the providence of that God who 'works all things according to the counsels of His own will.' He who does this must recognise the hand of God in the present day in opening up the great continent of Africa. A little has been known and done on the fringes of the outskirts for many years; but the vast interior, with its numerous races, was hid from view, it was only known as the land of darkness, blood, and death. In these latter days, the God who 'rules among the nations' has opened the interior of the continent to the knowledge and enterprise of civilised Christian nations, notably, to the knowledge of the English nation. He has thus in the course of events been guiding all to certain great results, of which Christian England has become the great leading power, for the purpose of making a moral, social, and spiritual transformation among the varied races of the land.

God has thus been gradually bringing the whole country south of the line under British rule; within the short history of the writer this has been done to an amazing extent. When he came to the country forty years ago, Natal had no existence as a British colony, the Orange Free State and the extensive Transvaal had no existence as British possessions. The Cape Colony was bounded on the east by the Great Fish River, thirty miles east of Graham's Town; and the Orange River to the north had only been crossed by a few self-expatriated Dutch farmers, who fled from British rule in

discontent on account of the loss of their slaves, and were wanderers in the land, not having any other ownership than that of temporary residence. The vast extent of country which now constitutes the Orange Free State and the Transvaal was subsequently taken possession of *by the English, not the Dutch, and an English government formed*, which continued until, in a dark hour, under woefully mistaken policy, the whole was given over to the Dutch farmers. Those who will avail themselves of the information supplied in the 'History of the Orange River Sovereignty,' as contained in the appendix of my *History of Natal*, will have all the details of these proceedings before them.

Let the reader then who wishes to understand the subject fully take the maps of South Africa, of Kaffirland, and of Zululand, as given in my works, and turn to the different countries under review, and he will then see that instead of retaking the Transvaal to 'round off' the British possessions in South Africa, the *Transvaal* is BEYOND the *Free State*, *Natal* is BEYOND *Kaffirland*, which comes in between the Cape Colony and the Natal Colony, and *Zululand* is BEYOND *Natal*, stretching on to Delagoa Bay. But the Transvaal already extends two degrees *beyond* the Amazulu. Thus these barbaric, uncivilised states were not isolated or separated from each other, but in the midst of existing British possessions, and that what affects one must of necessity affect all. Hence before 'general permanent peace can be established, and suitable laws formed and enforced, there must become one great central governing race that can make wise and good laws, sustained by a power which can enforce those laws so as to make them respected and obeyed. Hence the absolute neces-

sity of a united, strong English government of confederated states, having each its own local government, but being united and one for all great interests, especially having one uniform mode of government for all the varying native races of the country. Races, varying in colour from the pale white through every tinge to the jet black; races, speaking many languages, from the Koranna with *thirteen clicks* to the Kaffir with his *euphonic concord*. My conviction has long been that the subjugation of the Amazulu nation to British sway was necessary before this much-needed consummation could take place. Then, with general or universal peace, this nation of fragmentary states and people will become one united mighty power; each and all having increased facilities for developing the resources of the country, extending mercantile transactions, encouraging Christian missions, and growing into one of the great and good dominions of the globe, speaking the English language, and planting English arts and industries throughout the land.

I think the necessity of the subjugation of the Amazulu race is thus clearly indicated. The only other question which remains is, Is this the time when it should be effected? To this question I give no dogmatic reply. There is, however, another which may be proposed, which will aid us in giving a true reply to this, which is, What would be gained by delay? would a more favourable time arrive, or more favourable circumstances present themselves? Is it not possible that delay might increase the complications and magnify the difficulties, and, in the end, involve a much larger amount of sacrifice in men and treasure than even the recent war has done? The answer to these questions we cannot give, but of this

we may speak with unqualified certainty, that *it is now too late to recede*; every consideration and interest for both white and black, English and Dutch, Kaffir and Amazulu, imperatively demands that the British government go forward and finish successfully the work it has taken in hand. It is thus to be hoped that no consideration or interest in the home government may interpose so as to remove Sir Bartle Frere before these great and permanent results are achieved.

But the cry of theorists will be, When are these extensions to terminate, as it is only pushing the border line farther and farther back, for these terrible struggles to be repeated again and again, with ever-increasing sacrifice of men and treasure, without any commensurate return? To such I would say, Look at a good map of Africa, and you will see that already the British possessions in South Africa extend more than two degrees north of Zululand, in the Transvaal, and two degrees north of Delagoa Bay. So that instead of increasing the border line of defence, it will take off 300 miles of the present border, which extends through Natal to Rorke's Drift, in a north-west direction, and then turns to the right in a north-east direction to Delagoa Bay. It is to be regretted that editors of newspapers and histories, who do not take the pains to obtain information within their reach, often write incorrectly upon these subjects. For instance, the *Times* and the *Graphic* in their leaders say that the 300,000 natives in Natal are Zulus, but in reality not half of them belong to that nation. A large proportion are remnants of those tribes who dwelt in Natal at the time of Utshaka's invasion. They were then conquered, many were slain, many wandered into Kaffirland and

formed the Fingoe race that has now become so numerous on the borders of the Cape Colony; but large numbers who had gone into rocks and hiding-places returned to their own land when peace was restored; and were gradually being collected again under their own chiefs under Mr. Shepstone (now Sir Theophilus), of whom Langabalele of recent notoriety was one. These tribes, with their names and chiefs and localities of residence, are given in detail in my *History of Natal*, the information being thus at hand for all who desire to possess it. Hence, this has been the safety of the English in the Zulu war, that large numbers of the Natal natives are *not Zulus at all*, but a people who were conquered by them, and consequently cannot possibly have any sympathy with them; and so have formed valuable native contingents in our operations against the Zulus.

But it may be said, Cannot some other power or nation do this, or the people be left to work their own regeneration? Our answer is, That the latter they cannot do. They possess not the will or the power of self-regeneration; it must come from without, and act upon them, and have time to accomplish its legitimate results. Then as to the former, the answer to that is, That as we believe in the wise, over-ruling providence of God, the God of nations has gradually brought the English nation into its present advanced position in order to accomplish this great work, and that it cannot now abandon or recede from that position, without sacrificing all the interests of all the Europeans in the South African colonies, as well as the conflicting and diverse interests of the many varied tribes. This was tried before, when the Orange River Sovereignty and

the Transvaal were abandoned and handed over to the Dutch, which has occasioned much disorder, suffering, and loss, until now the resumption of the Transvaal will in due course do something to repair the damage done. That country was in a state of anarchy when the *English resumed* possession of it; and the great difficulties which at present harass the English authorities in subduing this heterogeneous mass, and reducing it to order and prosperity, have been aggravated by the Zulu campaign, and the distracted state of the tribes in the northern parts of the country. This conflicting, chaotic mass cannot be brought into order, harmony, and prosperity in a day; but let suitable measures be adopted and pursued, and gradually order, peace, and prosperity will be attained, and England as well as Africa will be benefited.

Another subject of great and grave importance, which, although not immediately connected with the Zulu War, is nevertheless intimately connected with the treatment of the native races of South Africa in general, is that of the colonial government having adopted the policy of *disarming* all natives—loyal and disloyal, Christian and heathen—alike.

There are those who have had a good deal to do with native character and custom, their modes of thought, and the motives of their conduct, who are fully convinced that this policy is a serious and disastrous mistake. Had the disarming been confined to rebels and those who had been subjected by war, all parties, both native and European, would have endorsed the measure; but when it is applied to loyal and rebel alike, to Christian and heathen, to those in the colony and those beyond the borders, to those who have fought for us

as well as those who have fought against us, to those who have made considerable advances in civilisation as well as the purely heathen—it has brought into existence a deep and indignant recoil, and if it has not changed loyal men into rebels, has taken the soul of loyalty out of them, and produced a sullen and dissatisfied state of feeling.

But this action of the government in disarming the whole of the natives is defeating the object the government has in view. One object of the government as well as the Missionaries is to raise the natives in the scale of being into true manhood, as well as civilised Christian men; but this action produces the directly contrary effect. It is to bring those down again to the lower strata of servile heathens who had achieved many steps and stages in the ascending scale. As some of the best of those who have stood nobly by us in all our wars have said to the writer, ‘We have fought for the English fifty years; our children, our brothers, and our fathers have been killed in fighting for the English: but now they treat us like rebels, and take away our arms by force, and we must either give them up or be treated as rebels!’

If the facts thus adduced be correct, and the reasoning upon those facts be logical, then the amount of responsibility under which the English government is brought to Christianise and civilise these barbarous nations is very great. I do not now at length enter into detail as to the duties of the colonial government and the Christian Church; these subjects are treated upon in my *History of Natal*, and more at length in my *Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*, so that I do not treat upon them at length in this place. The first

essential is to cause them to know and feel that they are under authority, and must submit to good and wholesome laws ; a mild despotism is needed in their present transition state. That the magistrates and agents set over them should be men of established integrity and good moral character, is essential. That they should have a fair knowledge of the country, and the character and habits of those over whom they are placed, is also essential. That whilst they steadily and quietly enforce submission to the laws, they should not play ‘fantastic tricks,’ or manifest ebullitions of bad temper in violent language, is also essential. That they take care to explain the laws under which the people are placed, as well as enforce them, is also essential. That when they inflict punishment for the supposed or real violation of law, that the case be clear and just, is also essential. If these things are observed and carried out there will be no fear of dissatisfaction or trouble. Almost any amount of punishment may be inflicted *if the case be a clear one*, but to deal timidly or leniently, or in a vacillating or contradictory manner, is fatal ; it will do great mischief instead of doing good. The magistrate or agent should uniformly act in such a manner as to secure the respect of the people, for fair and impartial dealing, and then he will have but little trouble in carrying out his decisions. But if an appeal to a higher court should take place, if possible, the action of the lower court should be affirmed, or otherwise the influence of the magistrate is lost. If a magistrate is incompetent, he should be dismissed or sent to another place.

If the English government is sincere in its desires and purposes to preserve and benefit those brought

under its sway, and thus accomplish its high destiny, then it must with a steady and firm hand put down those heathen customs which are opposed to order and good government; these customs are also treated largely upon in my *Kaffir Races*, and need only to be named here. Such as the polluted rites connected with circumcision, ukolobalo, polygamy, and the sensual dances, &c., &c., connected therewith. But, most of all, to adopt stringent laws to prevent the sale of *Cape brandy* among them, which to a great extent is the cause of the evil and destruction which prevail, and most of the cruel deaths which so frequently occur. Unprincipled white men are utterly regardless of the dreadful consequences which follow the sale of these deadly drinks. They will have recourse to all sorts of means, fair or foul, in order to get a license and set up a brandy shop wherever possible. All they care about is to sell the deadly liquor, often deeply drugged, and then say they are the best friends of the country 'in civilising the Kaffirs off the face of the earth.' No words can set forth the destructive effects of this hydra-headed monster in its many forms and fearful results; and what is worst is, the government is either powerless to prevent it, or tacitly encourages it. The western part of the Cape Colony is a brandy making district, and hence the many means which are adopted to extend the sale of the product of their farms and vineyards are actively worked. Loud, long, bitter complaints are made by many lovers of peace, health, and good order; but, alas! with but little beneficial result. If there is to be a South African dominion, let there be an effort made to adopt a few *simple stringent* laws to reduce this dire calamity to a minimum.

What has been thus briefly advanced relates mostly to the duty and responsibility of the government in returning to the conquered that which may be some equivalent for the loss of their country and independence; but if responsibility is involved on the part of the governing powers, it is not less so on the part of the Christian Church. There are some who still say, Civilise before you Christianise. The impossibility of this has been fully pointed out in my *Kaffir Races*. In philosophy and fact, as well as sentiment, this must be so. Regeneration cannot possibly take place unless there is regenerating power and process. The cause must, not only be equal to the effect, but it must be the *same in nature as the effect sought*. Thus, what has been advanced in reference to the duties of the government relates to the subjection of the lawless to law and order; but this is enforced restraint, and is the action of the stronger power in the commander, the magistrate, the police, and the prison; but *there is nothing here to CREATE new moral, social, or spiritual life*. The *former changes the habits, but cannot change the men*; the *former* is of unspeakable value in holding evil in check, and preparing and aiding the way of remedial action; but it must be the latter which implants new principles, inspires new motives, creates new wants, and supplies Divine help by which the demon is not merely subdued, but cast out, and the kindlier life brought in.

In the pages of this book the thoughtful reader has two notable Kaffir chiefs placed before his view, and their history traced and described—the one the Christian, the other the savage: the former the creator of a nation out of condensed fragments; the latter the

destroyer of his own people as well as those of the foe, 'washing his spear' in the blood of the slain: the one raised from condemned obscurity to lasting honour; the other inheriting, if not the honour of the Cæsars, the prestige of the Amazulu chiefs Utshaka and Undingaan: the one scattering the blessings of religion and civilisation among his people; the other being the scourge of men both white and black: the one descending to the grave in peace in an honoured old age, amidst the well-deserved laments of his people; the other, after terrible scenes of blood and death, taken prisoner and consigned to an ignominious captivity. The Christian philosopher and historian has a right to ask, What has the difference made? The answer to this question is not difficult to give: it is, that the one was a Christian under the influence of the softening and elevating influences of religion; the other was a heathen governed by pride, ambition, and lust.

These two men are representative; they are types or illustrations of Kaffir character under the opposing influences and customs of Christianity and heathenism. It was Christianity which made the chief Kama what he was; it was heathenism pure and simple, without check or restraint, which made Kechwayo the terror and scourge of men.

A distinguished literary gentleman has recently passed through many parts of the South African colonies, taking notes as he went along, and has given to the reading public two portly volumes at a not very low price. In these volumes he has given a good deal of interesting information in a very readable form, as was to be expected, but mixed with many inaccuracies, as well as much that is crude and commonplace.

Speaking about the work and result of Christian Missions, he is pleased to describe the so-called Christian natives, as 'the singing natives,' &c., and thus passing off the results of Missionary operation with a comic sneer. But we venture to think that whilst there are proofs such as those which the history of the Christian chief Kama and his son William Shaw Kama affords, with that of hundreds if not thousands more, to sustain the claims of Missions to confidence and honour, they have nothing greatly to fear, even from the pens of those who in other respects are entitled to confidence and honour.

If Zululand then, now conquered, is to be preserved to those who lived there long before the white man ever saw it or placed his foot upon it, not only must proper lands be secured to those whom we have broken and subdued, but the action of government must be vigorously put forth to civilise, whilst the Missionary teaches and enforces the higher claims and responsibilities of religion. In this manner the people will be conserved, and the imperial destiny of South Africa greatly advanced.

There is now a deep, a loud, and piercing cry to Christian Churches to enter this comparatively new and wide field of labour to reap the harvest; hitherto, only few Missions have been admitted into the country, and that to a very limited extent; but soon this field will be white unto harvest, and the Christian reapers will be called to thrust in the sickle and reap, 'the fields being white already unto the harvest.' How great the conquest when these fierce warriors shall be subdued and broken by the power of an unseen Hand—a bloodless conquest being achieved, and their souls placed at the

feet of Jesus, clothed and in their right minds. Some will say, This cannot be; to such I would say, Read the chapter on conversion work among the Natal and Amazulu Kaffirs in my last book on *Methodist Missions in South Africa*, you will then see that it has been done; and what has been done before may be done again, what has been done on a small scale may be repeated and carried on to an indefinite extent.

APPENDIX.



ORGANISATION OF UTSHAKA'S ARMY.

THE object of this Appendix is to make some remarks upon the organisation of Utshaka's army in reply to some statements made in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine* for July, 1879, pp. 500, 501, in an article headed :

THE ZULUS AND THEIR NEIGHBOURS.

By a South African Missionary.

The writer of the article informs us that he had been nineteen years in the neighbourhood, had visited Kechwayo, &c., giving us the result of his personal observations. In the second paragraph he makes the following statement, which I quote *in extenso*, in order that the whole may be before the eye of the reader :

IF we take 1815 as the probable period we shall not be far wrong, as within three years before or after that date Utshaka must have commenced his reign. Our authorities on this point are two : the Rev. W. C. Holden and Mr.—now Sir T.—Shepstone. The former, in his *Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*, says that Utshaka fled from his father to a tribe living near St. Lucia Bay, and came thence with the warriors of the tribe to remove a usurper and begin his own reign. Mr. Holden had the advantage of free communication with an uncle of Utshaka, who was with him from his birth, and commanded his armies when he himself was not at their head, but who was not with him in his exile. His narrative was in good faith, as all who knew Abantwana after his conversion would be ready to testify ; and if we had not the

counter testimony of Mr. Shepstone, I should be inclined implicitly to accept his word. In a lecture delivered in Maritzburg to the Natal Society, Mr. Shepstone said that Utshaka, when he fled from his father to save his life, went south till he reached Graham's Town, at that time a central military station, and became servant to one of the officers of the garrison; that, while there, in his intervals of rest, he watched the manœuvres and drill of the troops, and became acquainted with the discipline and structure of our army; so that, when he was found and brought back on the death of his father, he was able to organise and drill his soldiers on the English model, so far as their diversity of weapon would permit. To this account I give the preference, because of Mr. Shepstone's well-known caution, which would prevent his making so public a statement of what he was not assured, and because, at the time he made it, he had been more than twenty years Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal—a post which brought him into continual contact with the chiefs and old men in the discussion of their tribal claims—from which he could not fail to be more amply and correctly informed than any other man. There is also indirect evidence of the truth of this statement in the constitution of the Zulu army. Like ours, it is divided into regiments under the command of one superior officer; the regiments into companies, each with an officer at its head; while the whole army is in the hands of a general, whose subordinates command severally the centre, the wings, and the reserve. This entirely new mode of division and discipline, it is admitted, was adopted by Utshaka in full maturity at the beginning, before a battle was fought; which is more in harmony with Mr. Shepstone's statement than any other. Utshaka also reduced the assagai to the length of the English bayonet, to be used in stabbing instead of throwing, which made the Zulu charge as deadly as the English. If the Zulu discipline had grown from small incipient changes we could account for it by the antecedents which Mr. Holden gives; but seeing that it came into being as a grand, complete innovation, the only congruous origin is the one Mr. Shepstone states.'

Under ordinary circumstances it would not be needful to notice the above statement, as it does not affect

the fact of Utshaka's army, but the manner in which the organisation was brought about. But under the peculiar circumstances of its appearance in the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, just before this work is published, in which the history of the war is given, and when so much attention to the subject of the army is being directed, it assumes an importance which it would not otherwise possess. The writer thinks that the statement of Mr.—now Sir T.—Shepstone, that Utshaka found his way to Graham's Town, and there learned the art and tactics of military organisation from the English, invalidates the narrative given in my work, *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*; and the writer prefers Mr. Shepstone's exposition of the question to that given by myself. The writer has a full right to do this; but it does, nevertheless, call for some explanation from me, and that I should either re-affirm my narrative or accept his apparently more probable version; I adopt the former course. The narrative is given in brief in the *Past and Future*, pp. 12—18, which is too lengthy for quotation, but which may be consulted by any one having the book.

I am bound to endorse the statement that Mr. Shepstone, as Secretary for Native Affairs in Natal for twenty years, possessed a large amount of information upon native affairs, arising out of the peculiar position in which he was placed; but I demur to the statement that 'he could not fail to be more amply and correctly informed than any other man.' Possibly so far as the remnants of the Kaffir tribes were concerned in general he might be better informed, as he was 'brought into continual contact with the chiefs and old men in the discussion of their tribal claims.' But my chief

informant, and the only one I ever found who had been with Utshaka from his childhood, was no Natal chief, nor had any tribal claim in the colony, but lived with his family some ten miles to the westward of D'Urban (*the Bay*), on a private farm.

The truth of this may not be denied, but it may be affirmed that Mr. Shepstone had other sources of information, not only equally good, but even more trustworthy. This renders it needful for me to say a little upon the character and circumstances of my informant, as well as the corroborative proof which I had from other independent sources. It is proper for me to state that I arrived as the Wesleyan Missionary in D'Urban, Port Natal, early in 1847, when Natal had been taken possession of by the English only some three years, and that I resided in the Bay six years: during which time I came into personal contact with such Europeans as were best acquainted with Zululand, including the venerable Aldin Grout and Daniel Lindley; also Bishop Schröder, whose life-work it has been to establish Missions in Zululand, who also supplied me with the remarkable kraal showing Undingaan's capital, copies of which are found in both my works, *History of Natal* and *Kaffir Races*; also Messrs. Finn and Ogilvie, who were among the first to open communications with the Amazulu king, besides travellers, hunters, and others.

Soon after my arrival in Natal I became acquainted with the fine old Zulu Abantwana and his family in the course of my Missionary labours; a somewhat full account of his conversion is given in my last work, *Brief History of Methodism and Methodist Missions*. The writer in question appears to have known Aban-

twana, and admits him to be a very credible witness, he being some ten or twelve years old when the great chief was born, and connected with him until he was massacred by his brother Undingaan.

I remark then : 1. That for more than five years I was in frequent intercourse with Abantwana, this being before and after his conversion to Christianity ; that I sat with him by the hour, making every possible inquiry concerning the birth, parentage, and early life of Utshaka, his character and conduct, the formation of his army, and the nature and extent of his conquests ; the manner in which he fled as a youth into exile, and the tribes where he obtained protection ; how he returned with borrowed warriors from Umtetwa, the powerful chief who gave him protection, and dislodged the usurper who had taken the chieftainship ; and how he formed his army, and commenced his victorious career. But in all this never was the slightest allusion made to his ever having been at Graham's Town or the military establishment there, and learning there the formation of an army.

2. That the information thus obtained was tested by personal conversation with Ministers, travellers, traders, &c., so that if any discrepancy was found to exist, or any doubt expressed, in the next interview with Abantwana I had it cleared up.

3. That the information thus obtained was so obtained of set purpose, and was *noted down at the time*, in order that it might be available at any time when required ; and this was continued year after year for the space of ten years, until the book was published, without my having heard of the lecture of Mr. Shepstone during that time.

4. My facilities for obtaining correct information were more favourable than those of Mr. Shepstone, for, in addition to the above, I resided in the Bay whilst his residence was in Pietermaritzburg, and it was from the Bay that most of the intercourse with Zululand was conducted for many years.

5. But the writer in the magazine is of impression that Mr. Shepstone's account is the correct one from the supposed fact that the army was organised and came forth 'in full maturity at the beginning, before a battle was fought,' &c. This, however, does not follow; I presume the writer obtained his information upon the organisation of the army from my book; if so, the narrative is given in some six or ten pages. But this complete organisation was not brought to full maturity at once, but was altered and improved from time to time as the necessities arose; and in his first wars, as my book will show, he began with the weak and small tribes near at hand, and only extended his operations and conquests as he gathered strength, as his discipline was matured, and his warriors became irresistible. His training with the Umtetwa warrior tribe prepared his way and fired his ambition.

6. He did not need to go to Graham's Town to learn the art of war, as at a very early period there was at least one notable person who could give him instruction in all that he needed. This was 'Jacob,' of whom an account is given in my *History of Natal*, in connection with the early settlers. This wily Kaffir was from the frontier of the old colony; he had been transported to Robin Island for cattle theft. Captain Owen, of the *Leven*, going to survey the coast, took Jacob with him; when at St. Lucia Bay, the boat was capsised, and he

escaped. He was called *Thlambamanzi*, 'Having saved himself from being destroyed by water'; he was taken to Utshaka, and in process of time became a great favourite at the Amazulu court, being very valuable to the despot when his communications with the early settlers of Natal began. From this man Utshaka could easily learn all that he needed about the organisation of the English army and almost everything else that might be of service to the Amazulu. Nor was any new weapon introduced after the pattern of the English bayonet, but only the long, slender assagai, or spear, changed into the short, stabbing assagai, the same in shape, only short and stout instead of long and thin.

7. The time did not accord with the existence of Graham's Town, as it must have been before 1820, that is, before the British settlers had arrived in the country; so the Graham's Town of to-day had no existence. There could only have been, at most, a small number of soldiers, who did not command any great attention to attract a youth from the depths of Zululand; probably he had scarcely heard of the existence of those troops. The communications with Utshaka in connection with Finn, Fanwell, and others began about the year 1823 or 1824; but then the Zulu monarch had achieved the greater part of his conquests, and the settlers only gathered scattered remnants of Natal Kaffirs around them. So that from the above facts and considerations it would appear all but impossible for Utshaka even to have seen Graham's Town, whilst it was the most improbable of all improbabilities that he should leave the centre of Zululand, come through all the tribes that then occupied the country which is now the Natal colony, traverse the whole extent of Kaffirland proper, through all the

Kaffir tribes, until the wandering fugitive found himself in Graham's Town. The distance was several hundred miles through unknown regions and many Kaffir tribes; and hence the conclusion is forced upon us that Mr. Shepstone's account could not be correct, whilst the one given in my narrative is simple, clear, and straightforward, and presents nothing impracticable or improbable to view.

Having laid before the careful reader the whole facts and probabilities of the subject, I must leave him to form his own opinions as to whether of the two has the greater claim to be received as the correct version of the question. One thing will be apparent, that no amount of pains has been spared on my part to obtain the true facts of the case as recorded in the narrative, *The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*, and this fact should tend to establish the claim to reliability of the present as well as former volumes.

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